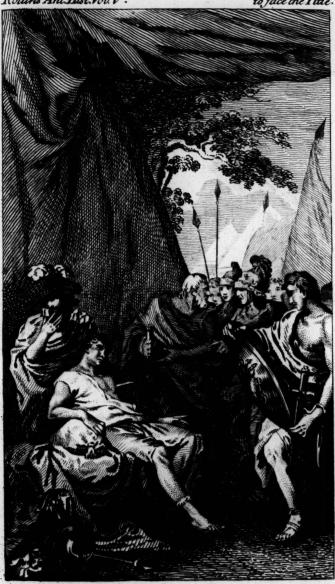
Rollins Ant. Hist. Vol. V.

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The DEATH of EPAMINONDAS.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

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EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS.

MEDES and PERSIANS,

MACEDONIANS,

AND

GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the University of Paris, Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

THE EIGHTH EDITION,

Illustrated with Copper-Plates.

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HISTORY

OF

DIONYSIUS THE ELDER AND YOUNGER,

TYRANTS OF SYRACUSE.

SYRACUSE had regained its liberty about fixty years, by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed in that interval, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but those which follow are of a different nature, and make amends for the chasin; I mean the reigns of Dionysius the father and son, tyrants of Syracuse; the first of whom governed thirty-eight, and the * other twelve, in all fifty years. As this history is entirely so-reign to what passed in Greece at the same time, I shall relate it in this place altogether and by itself; observing only that the first twenty years of it, upon which I am now entering, agree almost in point of time with the last twenty of the preceding volume.

The history will present to our view a series of the most odious and horrid crimes though it abounds at the Vol. V. B

^{*} After having been expelled for more than ten years. he re-ascended the shrone, and reigned two or three years.

same time with instruction. When * on the one side we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, justice, and laws, treading under his feet the most facred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel torments upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others for a flight word, delighting and feafting himself with human blood, and gratifying his favage inhumanity with the fufferings and miseries of every age and condition: I say, when we behold fuch an object, can we deny a truth, which the pagan world itself hath confessed, and Plutarch takes occasion to observe in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily; that God in his anger gives fuch princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal. On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and, abandoned to remorfe and regret, can find no perfon in his whole state, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, + That it is not without reason the oracle of wisdom has declared that if the hearts of tyrants could be feen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils; it being certain, that the body does not suffer more from inflictions and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their proceedings.

The condition of a good prince is quite different. He loves his people, and is beloved by them, he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives with his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the sword of justice is in his hands, he apprehends

* Erit Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis, justitiæ, legum exitium—Alios uret, alius verberabit, alios ob levem offensam jubebit detruncari. Senec. de confol. ad Marc. c. xvii.

Sanguine humano non tantum gaudet, sed pascitur; sed hupplieris omnium atatum crusta restem institabilem explet. Id. de Benef. 1. vii'

+ Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ sirmare solitus est, sa recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus & ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceraretur. Tacit. Annal. 1, vi. c. 6.

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the use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never resolve to evidence his power, but with extreme resuctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and sanction of the * laws. A tyrant punishes only from caprice and passion; and believes, says Plutarch upon Dionysius, that he is not really † master, and does not act with supreme authority, but as he sets himself above all laws, has no other but his will and pleasure, and sees himself obeyed implicitly. Whereas, continues the same author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of doing what he ought not.

Besides these characteristicks of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly distinguish the first Dionysius, we shall see in his history, whatever unbounded ambition, sustained by great valour, extensive abilities, and the necssary talents for acquiring the considence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of sovereignty; the various means he had the address to employ for the maintaining himself in it against the opposition of his enemies, and the odium of the publick; and lastly, the tyrant's success in escaping, during a reign of thirty-eight years, the many conspiracies formed against him, and in transmitting peaceably the tyranny to his son, as a legitimate possession, and a right of inheritance.

* Hæc est in maxima potestate verissima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives suos liceat, experiendo tentare; sed hebetare aciem imperii sui—Quid interest inter tyrannum & regem, (species enim ipsa fortunæ ac licentia par

est,) nisi quod tyranni in voluptate seviunt, reges non nisi ex causa & necessitate? Senec. de Clem. lib. i. c. 11.

† "Εφη απολαύειν μαλιζα της αρχης όταν ταχίως α βάλεθαι τις.". Μέγας εν ό κινδυν. βελεσθαι αμή δεί, τον αβαλεεαι ποιείν δυναμειον. Ad Princ. indoct. p. 782.

B 2

SECT.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I. Means made use of by DIONYSIUS the Elder to possess himself of the tyranny.

(a) DIONYSIUS was a native of Syracuse, of noble and illustrious extraction according to some, but others fay his birth was base and obscure. However it was, he diffinguished himself by his valour, and acquired great reputation in a war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re enter Syracufe by force of arms after having been banished through the intrigues of his ene-The event of that enterprise was not happy. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracufans did not spare his accomplices, feveral of whom were publickly executed. Dionysius was left amongst the wounded. The report of his death, defignedly given out by his relations, faved his life. Providence had spared Syracuse an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either in the fight, or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to possess themselves of the principal towns of that island, as we have observed elsewhere. (b) Its happy situation for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprise. We may form an idea of the wealth of its cities from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum. (c) The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, especially that of Jupiter Olympus, which was three hundred and forty feet in length, fixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas, or galleries, in their extent and beauty answered to the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other the taking of Troy, in sigures as large as the life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which

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⁽a) Diod. l. xiii. p. 197.

(b) In the History of the Carthaginians, Vol. 1.

(c) Diod. l. xiii. p. 203-206,

was seven stadia (above a quarter of a league) in circumference. It was full of all kinds of fish, covered with swans and other water-fowls, and afforded the most agree-

able prospect imaginable.

It was about the time of which we speak, that Exeneus, victor in the Olympick games, entered the city in riumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hunfred more, all drawn by white horses. Their habits were adorned with gold and filver; and nothing was ever more splendid than their appearance. Gellias, the most wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, erected several arge apartments in his house for the reception and enterainment of his guests. Servants waited by his order at he gates of the city, to invite all frangers to lodge at heir master's house whither they conducted them. Hospitality was much practifed and esteemed by the generality of that city. A violent storm having obliged five hundred forfemen to take shelter there, Gellias entertained them il in his house, and supplied them immediately with ry clothes, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is understanding how to make a oble use of riches. His cellar is much talked of by istorians, in which he had three hundred reservoirs hewn ut of the rock, each of which contained an hundred * mphoræ.

This great and opulent city was befieged, and at length aken by the Carthaginians. Its fall shook all Sicily, and pread an universal terror. the cause of its being lost was imputed to the Syracusans, who had but weakly aided it. Dionysius, who from that time had no other thoughts ut of his grand designs, and was secretly active in laying he foundations of his future power, took the advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general combaints of Sicily against the Syracusans, to render the magistrates odious, and to exclaim against their administration. In a publick assembly, held to consider of the B 2

* An amphora contained about gallons, or eleven bog sheads, seven even gallons; an hundred conse-gallons.

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present state of affairs, when nobody dared to open their mouths for sear of the persons at the helm, Dionysius rose up, and boldly accused the magistrates of treason; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be deposed immediately, without waiting till the term of their administration should expire. They retorted this audacity with treating him as a seditious person, and a disturber of the publick tranquillity, and as such laid a sine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid before he could be admitted to speak again, and Dionysius was not in a condition to discharge it. Philistus, one of the richest citizens (who wrote the history of Sicily, which is not come down to us) deposited the money, and exhorted him at the same time to give his opinion upon the state of affairs with all the liberty which became a citizen zealous

for his country.

Dionyfius accordingly refumed his discourse with more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with reason as a very necessary talent in a republican government; especially in his views of acquiring the people's favour, and of reconciliating them to his measures. He began with describing in a lively and pathetick manner the ruin of Agrigentuin, a neighbouring city in their alliance; the deplorable extremity to which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the place under the cover of the night; the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and fick persons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and merciles enemy; and the consequential murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, feeble refuges against the Carthaginian fury and impiety. imputed all these evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who instead of marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal protraction and delay of the magistrates, corrupted by Carthaginian bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who regarded nothing but establishing their own power upon the ruins of their country's liberty. He represented the dig def a fl correvit vot ren rity app

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him He was presented Syracuse as composed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, usurping all the dignities and wealth of the state; the other obscure, despised, and trod under foot, bearing the same yoke of a shameful servitude, and rather slaves than citizens. He concluded with saying, that the only remedy for so many evils was to elect persons from amongst the people devoted to their interests, and who, not being capable of rendering themselves formidable by their riches and authority, would be solely employed for the publick good, and applying in earnest to the re-establishment of the liberty of Syracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, as all speeches are, which flatter the natural propensity of inferiors to complain of the government, and was followed with the universal applause of the people, who always give themselves up blindly to those, who know how to deceive them under the specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed on the spot, and others substituted in their room, with Dionysius at

the head of them.

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This was only the first step to the tyranny, at which he did not stop. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the displacing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous, and he applied to it with address. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries against them at a distance; calumniating them by his emissaries to the people, and sparing no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered amongst the populace, that those commanders held secret intelligence with the enemy; that difguifed couriers were frequently feen passing and re-passing; and that it was not to be doubted, but some conspiracy was on foot. He ffected on his side not to see those leaders, nor to open himself to them at all upon the affairs of the publick. He communicated none of his designs to them; as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having B 4

any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they silent upon the occasion: but the common people, prejudiced in his savour, incessantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the sole protector and asserter of

their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his defigns. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled the city at different times, and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to a benefactor, and refentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of his enemies, rendered most proper for the execution of his designs, and attached unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recall. It was given out, that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people were in great pain upon the expence, to which the new levies would amount. Dionysius took the advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and the difposition of the publick. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expence from Italy and Peloponnesus, whilst they might supply themfelves with excellent foldiers, without being at any charge at all: That there were numbers of Syracusans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles; that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chose rather to wander about Sicily without support or settlement, than to take party in the armies of the enemy, however advantageous the offers to induce them to it had been. This discourse of Dionysius

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had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His colleagues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the people against them, and even augment the reputation of Dionysius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuse without

losing time.

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A deputation from Gela, a city in the dependence of Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison, should be re-enforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse. He found the city in a great commotion, and divided into two factions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the affembly to die, and to have their estates confiscated for the use of the publick. This confiscation was applied to pay off the arrears, which had long been due to the former garrison, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionysius promifed the troops he brought with him to Syracuse to double the pay they were to receive from the city. was attaching fo many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and fent deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important fervice that city had done them in fending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse, after having promised the inhabitants of Gela, who used all means in their power to keep him amongst them, that he would soon return with more confiderable aid.

He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him, enquiring with earnestness what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city nourished far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her bosom; that whilst Carthage was making

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extraordinary

fers to onyfius had extraordinary preparations for the invalion of Syracuse those, who were in command, instead of rousing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and fetting every thing at work against the approach of so potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amusements and idle shows, and suffered the troops to want necessaries; converting their pay to their private uses in a fraudulent manner destructive to the publick affairs; that he had always sufficiently comprehended the cause of such a conduct; that however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, his complaints were founded; that Imilcar, the general of the Carthaginians, had fent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ranfom of prisoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too strict in examining into the conduct of his colleagues; and that if he would not enter into the measures of Carthage, at least that he would not oppose them; that for his part, he came to refign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave no room for injurious fulpicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence, with traitors who fold the commonwealth.

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This discourse being rumoured amongst the troops, and about the city, occasioned great inquietude and alarm. The next day the affembly was fummoned, and Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, which were received with universal applause. Some of the assembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generaliffimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late for fo falutary a recourse, when the enemy was at the gates of Syractife; that the importance of the war which threatened them, required such a leader; that it was in the same manner formerly, that Gelon was elected generalissimo, and defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which confifted of three hundred thousand men; that as for the acculation alledged against the traitors, it might be referred to another day, but that the prefent affair would admit no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect; for the people (who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing) elected Dionysius generalissimo with unlimited power that instant. In the same assembly he caused it to be decreed, that the soldiers pay should be doubled; insinuating that the state would be amply re-imbursed by the conquests consequential of that advance. This being done, and the assembly dismissed, the Syracusans upon cool restexion on what had passed, began to be in some consternation; as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that from the desire of preserving their liberty they had given themselves a master.

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Dionysius rightly judged the importance of taking his measures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one step more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards affigned him; and that he accomplished in the most artful and politick manner. He proposed, that all the citizens under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, should march with provifions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. cusans were at that time in possession of the place, and had a garrison in it. It was full of fugitive and foreign foldiers, who were very fit persons for the execution of his defigns. He justly suspected, that the greatest part of the Syracufans would not follow him. He fet out however, and encamped in the night upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noise was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raifed by perfons planted for that purpose by Dionysius. He affected, that ambufcades had been laid with defign to affaffinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great number of fires to be lighted, and had drawn off fuch of the troops as he most At break of day the people affembled in a confided in. body, to whom, expressing still great apprehension, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permission to choose himself a guard of six hundred men for the fecurity of his person. Pisistratus had set him the example ample long before, and had used the same stratagem when he made himself tyrant of Athens. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out a thousand men for his guard upon the spot, armed them compleatly, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promises for their encouragement. He also attached the foreign soldiers to his interest in a peculiar manner by speaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to secure the officers to his interest, and dismissed Dexippus to Sparta, in whom he could not conside. At the same time he ordered a great part of the garrison, which he had sent to Gela, to join him, and assembled from all parts sugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant.

With this escort he returned to Syracuse, which trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppose his undertakings, or to dispute his authority. The city was full of foreign soldiers, and saw itself upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he espoused the daughter of Hermccrates, the most powerful citizen of Syracuse, and who had contributed the most to the deseat of the Athenians. He also gave his sister in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law to Hermocrates. He afterwards summoned an assembly, in which he rid himself of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the most active in opposing his usurpation. In this manner Dionysius, from a simple notary and a citizen of the lowest class, made himself absolute lord and tyrant of the

greatest and most opulent city of Sicily.

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Viole Dio close SECT. II. Commotions in Sicily and at Syracuse against DIONYSTUS. He finds means to dispel them. To prevent revolts he proposes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful application and success in making preparations for the war. PLATO comes to Syracuse. His intimacy and friendship with DION.

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(d) IONYSIUS had a rude shock to experience in the beginning of his usurpation. The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and all the service he did the inhabitants was to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their flight in person. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more, because they did not purfue him, and that he lost very few of his foreign foldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same fate, followed their example, and withdrew with all the effects they could carry away. The moving fight of aged perfons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, struck Dionysius's troops wilh compassion, and incensed them against the tyrant. he had raifed in Italy withdrew to their own country, and the Syracufan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march, from his being furrounded with his foreigners, made forwards, and having entered Syracuse, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill usage, that she died of it soon after. Dionyfius, who had forefeen their delign, followed them close with only an hundred horse, and four hundred foot; and having marched almost twenty leagues (e) with the utmost expedition, he arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found shut against him. He set fire to it, and opened himself a passage in that manner. richest

⁽d) Diod. L xiii. p. 227, 231. (e) 400 fadia.

richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute his enterance, but were surrounded by the soldiers and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all to the sword that came in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number and forced the rest to leave Syracuse. The next day in the morning the whole of his troops arrived. The unhappy sugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilcar having sent an herald to Syracuse, a treaty was concluded, as mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians. (f) By one of the articles it was stipulated, that Syracuse should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the suspicions that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died (g).

It was then he facrificed every thing that gave him umbrage to his repose and security. He knew, that after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the sear of the miseries he had to expect in consequence, increased in the usurper in proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon all his new subjects as so many enemies, and believed, that he could only avoid the dangers which surrounded him on all sides, and dogged him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people to intimidate the other. He did not observe, that in adding the cruelty of executions to the oppression of the publick, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loss of their liberty, to preserve at

least their lives by attempting upon his.

(b) Dionysius, who foresaw that the Syracusans would not fail to take the advantage of the repose, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had lest them, to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortisted the part of the city, called the Isle, which was before very strong from the nature of its situation, and might

(f) Vol. I. (g) A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404. (b) Diod. p. 238, 241.

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might be defended by a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, slanked at due distances with high towers, and separated in that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to serve him for a retreat and resuge in case of accident, and caused a great number of shops and piazzas to be erected, capable of containing a considerable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which he bestowed upon his creatures and the officers of his making, and distributed the rest in equal proportions amongst the citizens and strangers, including the slaves, who had been made free amongst the first. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the Isle for such of the citizens as he could most conside in, and

for his strangers.

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After having taken these precautions for his security, he began to think of subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the fiege of Herbesses. The Syracusans in his army seeing their fwords in their hands, thought it their duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that account, was killed upon the spot, and his death ferved as a fignal for their revolt. They fent immediately to Ætna for the horse, who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raifed the fiege and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolters followed him close, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolis, barred all communication with the country. They received aid from their allies both by sea and land, and setting a price upon the tyrant's head, promised the freedom of the city to fuch of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the Isle vigoroufly, without giving Dionysius the least respite. The

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the fide of the country, affembled his friends to confult with them, rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his career, than upon the means of faving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolters, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents, which was granted, and five ships to transport his people and effects. He had however fent difpatches fecretly to the Campanians, who garrifoned the places in the possession of the Carthaginians, with offers of confiderable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syracufans, who after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had disarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians, to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely furprised and alarmed the city. After having beat such as difputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred soldiers more arrived to his affiftance: the face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionyfius, in a fally, drove them vigoroufly as far as that part of the city called Neapolis. The flaughter was not very confiderable, because he had given orders to spare those who fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to Ætna to understand, that they might return with entire fecurity. Many came to Syracuse, but others did not think it adviseable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their fatisfaction and difmiffed.

The Lacedæmonians at this time took such measures in regard to Syracuse, as were most unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publickly in all the cities of their

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dependence against popular government. They deputed one of the citizens to Syracuse, to express in appearance the part they took in the missortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but in reality he was sent to confirm Dionysius in supporting himself in the tyrrany; expecting, that from the increase of his power he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionysius saw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for the suture. Whilst the inhabitants were employed abroad in harvest-work, he entered their houses, and seised upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards enclosed the citadel with an additional wall, sitted out abundance of ships, armed great numbers of strangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection.

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After having made this provision for his safety at home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he did not only propose the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his subjects from the sense of their lost liberty, by turning their attention upon their ancient and always abhorred enemy, and by employing them in losty projects, military expeditions, and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He conceived this to be also the means to acquire the affection of his troops; and that the esteem of the people would be a consequence of the grandeur and success of his enterprises.

Dionysius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by sorce or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and some (i) other towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, which for that reason were very agreeable to his purposes. Some of them he treated with savour and clemency, to engage the esteem and considence of the people: others he plundered, to strike terrour into the country. The inhabitants of

Leontium were transplanted to Syracuse.

Thefe

These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, which saw themselves threatened with the same missortune. Rhegium, situate upon the opposite coast of the strait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracusan exiles, who were very numerous, and with the Messenians on the Sicilian side of the strait, who were to aid them with a powerful supply. They had levied a considerable army, and were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, when discord arose amongst the troops, and rendered the enterprise abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance between Dionysius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great defign in his mind, which was to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, a great obstacle to his own, as his discontented subjects never failed of refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The accident of the plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminished its strength, seemed to supply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his defign. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatness of the preparations ought to answer that of an enterprise, to assure the success of it; and he applied to them in a manner, which shows the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore used uncommon pains and application for that purpose; conscious that the war, into which he was entering with one of the most powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and have variety of confiderable events.

His first care was to bring to Syracuse, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily, as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artisans and workmen of all kinds; whom he induced to come thither by the offer of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging the most excellent persons in every profession. He caused an infinite number of every kind of arms to be forged, swords, javelins, lances, partisans, helmets, cuirasses, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built also a great number of gallies, that had from three to five benches of rowers, and were of an

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entirely new invention; with abundance of other barks and vessels for the transportation of troops and provisions.

The whole city feemed but one workshop, and continually refounded with the noise of the several artisans. Not only the porches, piazzas, porticos, places of exercife, and publick places, but private houses of any extent were full of workmen. Dionyfius had diftributed them with admirable order. Each species of artists, divided by freets and districts, had their overseers and inspectors, who by their prefence and direction promoted and completed the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually amongst the workmen, encouraging them with praise, and rewarding their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according to their distinguishing themselves by their ingenuity or application. He would even make fome of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. * It is justly faid, that honour nourishes arts and sciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince, who knows how to put the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human foul, interest and glory, in motion under proper regulations, will foon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it at a small expence with persons who excel in every profession. And this happened now at Syracuse, where a single person of great ability in the art of governing, excited fuch ardour and emulation amongst the artificers, as it is not easy to imagine or describe.

Dionysius applied himself more particularly to the navy. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building gallies with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that art to perfection; which he effected. The timber for building his gallies was brought, part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea side, and from thence shipped to

Syracule,

^{*} Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriæ. Cic. Tuse. Quast, l. i. n. 4.

Syracuse, and part from mount Ætna, which at that time produced abundance of pine and fir-trees. In a short space a fleet of two hundred gallies was seen in a manner to rise out of the earth; and an hundred others formerly built were resitted by his order; he caused also an hundred and fixty sheds to be erected within the great port, each of them capable of containing two gallies, and

an hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The fight of fuch a fleet, built in fo flort a time, and fitted out with fo much magnificence, would have given reason to believe, that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accomplishing so great a work. On the other fide, the view of fuch an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think, that Dionyfius had folely employed himself in providing them, and had exhausted his treasures in the expence. confisted of one hundred and forty thousand shields, as many helmets and fwords; and upwards of fourteen thousand cuirasses, finished with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horse, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign. troops, who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, and lances, were innumerable, and engines and machines of war in proportion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and strangers. Dionysius did not think of raising troops till all his preparations were complete. Syracuse and the cities in its dependence supplyed him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, especially from Sparta. The considerable pay he offered brought soldiers

in crowds from all parts to lift in his fervice.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to the success of his enterprise; the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himfelf particularly to the gaining of the hearts, not of his own subjects only, but of all the inhabitants of Sicily, and succeeded in it to a wonder. He had entirely chang-

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ed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, courtesy, clemency, a disposition to do good, and an infinuating complacency for all the world, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air, and inhumanity of temper, which had rendered him so odious. He was so entirely altered, that he did not seem to be the same man.

Whilft he was haltening his preparations for the war. and applying to the attainment of his subjects affections, he meditated an alliance with the two powerful cities, Rhegium and Messina, which were capable of disconcerting his great defigns by a formidable diversion. The league formed by those cities some time before, though without any effect, gave him some uneasiness. He therefore thought it necessary to make fure of the amity of them both. He presented the inhabitants of Messina with a confiderable quantity of land, which was fituate in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to defire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had loft his first wife in the popular commotion, as before related.

Dionyfius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more estectually than the prospect of a successor, who may enter into the same designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan, and observe the same maxims of government, took the opportunity of the present tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double marriage, in order to have a successor, to whom he might transfer the sovreignty, which had cost him so many pains and dangers to acquire.

The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionysius had first applied, having called a counsel to take his demand into consideration, came to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their final answer returned, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. The raillery was home and cut deep. We shall see in the sequel how dear that city paid for their jest.

The

The Locrians, to whom Dionysius sent the same ambassadors, did not show themselves so difficult and delicate, but fent him Doris for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their most illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers of extraordinary magnificence, and fhining on all fides with gold and filver. He married, at the same time, Aristomache, daughter of Hipparinas, the most considerable and powerful of the Syracusan citizens, and fifter of Dion, of whom much will be faid She was brought to this palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was then a fingular mark of distinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the same day with universal rejoicings throughout the whole city, and was attended with feasts and presents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the western nations from all antiquity that he espoused two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed by tyrants of setting themselves above

all laws.

Dionysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preserence to either, to remove all cause of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported, that he preserred his own country woman to the stranger; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her husband the first son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time without any symptoms of child-bearing; though Dionysius desired so earnestly to have issue by her, that he put his Locrian's mother to death; accusing her of hindering Aristomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

Aristomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but after distinguishing his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongst the other marks Dionysius gave him of his confidence,

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he ordered his treasurers to supply him, without farther orders, with whatever money he should demand, provided

they informed him the same day they paid it.

Dion had naturally a great and most noble soul. An happy accident had conduced to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated sentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch fays, a peculiar providence, which at distance laid the foundations of the Syracufan liberty, that brought Plato, the most celebrated of philofophers, to Syracuse. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons: for though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the supreme good was made to consist in pleasure and magnificence, he had no sooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that inculcates virtue, than his foul was inflamed with the love of it. Plato, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, upon whom his discourses made so great impression, or who had conceived his principles with fo much ardour and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, observing the facility with which Plato had changed his taste and inclinations, he imagined, with simplicity enough, that the same reasons would have the same effects upon the mind of Dionysius; and from that opinion could not rest till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear and converse with him. Dionysius consented: but the lust of tyrannick power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It was * like an indelible lye, that had penetrated his inmost soul, from whence it

was impossible ever to efface it.

(k) Though the stay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionysius, he persevered in giving Dion the ame instances of his esteem and confidence, and even to upport, without taking offence, the freedom with which

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⁽¹⁾ Plut. p. 960.

* Τὰν βαφίν εκ ἀνίεντα της τυ- ενίας ἐνε δεῖ τῶν χεμςων α'ντιλαμίδαμικό . ἐν πόλλω χεό.ω δεισοποιόν νεσθαν λόίον. Plut. in Moral. p.
γαν και δισεκπτύου. Δρομαλες δὲ 779..

he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracufe, and faying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the laughing-flock (1) of Sicily, the whole court fell into great admiration, and took no small pains in praising the quaintness and delicacy of the conceit, insipid and flat as it was, and indeed as puns and guibbles generally are. Dion took it in a ferious fense, and was so bold to reprefent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wife and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracufans a favourable opinion of monarchical power You reign, added he, and have been trusted for Gelon's fake; but for your fake no man will ever be trufted after you. It was very much that a tyrant should fuffer himself to be talked to in such a manner with impunity.

SECT. III. DIONYSIUS declares war against the Carthaginians. Various success of it. Syracuse reduced to extremities, and soon after delivered. New commotions against DIONYSIUS. Defeat of IMILCAR, and afterwards of MAGO. Unhappy fate of the city of Rhegium.

DIONYSIUS feeing his great preparations were complete, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publickly opened his design to the Syracusans, in order to interest them the more in the success of the enterprise, and told them that it was against the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which had lately wasted Carthage, had made the opportunity favourable, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to so cruel a power, waited only the signal to declare against it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuse to reinstate the Grecian cities in their liberty after having so long groaned under the yoke of the Barbarians;

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Barbarians; that in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only preceded them in doing fo for fome time; fince as foon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their

The affembly were unanimously of the same opinion. Their ancient and natural hatred of the Barbarians; their anger against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find fome occasion of recovering their liberty, united them in their fuffrages. The war was refolved without any opposition, and began that very instant. There were, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties and under the peace, exercised traffick, and thought themselves in fecurity. The populace, by Dionysius's authority, uponthe breaking up of the affembly, ran to their houses and ships, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the same treatment throughout Sicily; to which murders and malfacres were added, by way of reprifal for the many cruelties committed by the Barbarians upon those they conquered, and to shew them what they had to expect, if they continued to make war with the fame inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by an herald to Carthage, in which he fignified, that the Syracufans declared war against the Carthaginians, if they did not withdraw their garrisons from all the Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter at first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the peftilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However, they were not dismayed, and prepared for a vigorous defence. They raifed troops with the utmost diligence, and Imilcar fet out immediately to put himfelf

at the head of the Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionysius on his side lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It VOL. V.

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amounted to fourscore thousand soot, and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred gallies, and five hundred barks laden with provisions, and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortisted town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league (m) from the continent, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionysius having left the care of the siege to Leptinus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land-forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of so numerous an army, they surrendered except five, which were Ancyra, Solos, (n) Palermo, Segesta, and Entella. The last two places

he belieged.

Imiliar however, to make a diversion, detatched ten gallies of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprise in the night all the vessels which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders without resistance, and after having sunk a great part of the vessels which he found there, retired well satisfied with the success of his

Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's country, returned, and sat down with his whole army before Motya, and having employed a great number of hands in making dams and moles, he re-instated the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that side. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the besiegers had passed the breach, and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending themselves with incredible valour; so that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the sword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was spared, except those who had taken refuge in the temples.

(m) Six Audia or furlongs. (n) Panormus.

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The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raifed an army of three hundred thousand feot, and four thousand horse. The fleet under Mago's command confifted of four hundred gallies, and upwards of fix hundred veffels laden with provisions and engines of war. Imilcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders fealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at fea. He had taken this precaution, that his defigns might be kept secret, and to prevent spies from fending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loss in their passage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and soon after reduced Motya to furrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy and Sicily, and bar the passage of those that should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and some time after he entirely demolished it.

Dionyfius, feeing his forces extremely inferior to the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance, and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levyed new troops, and gave the flaves their liberty, that they might ferve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty gallies. With these forces he took the field, and removed about eighteen leagues from Syracuse. Imilcar advanced perpetually with his land-army, followed by his fleet, which kept near the coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march upon the sea-side, and was obliged to take a long compass round mount Ætna, which by a new irruption had fet the country about it on fire, and covered it with afles. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at

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Catana. Dionyfius, apprifed of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilft feparate from the land forces, and whilst his own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of service to animate and sup-The scheme was wisely concerted, but port his fleet. the fuccess not answerable to it. Leptinus his admiral, having advanced inconfiderately with thirty gallies, contrary to the opinion of Dionyfius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at first funk feveral of the enemy's fhips, but upon being furrounded by the greater number, was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly purfued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of foldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to fave themselves by swimming to shore. The land-army drawn up there, faw them perish miserably without being able to give them any affiftance. The loss on the fide of the Sicilians was very great; more than an hundred gallies being either taken or funk, and twenty thousand men perishing either in the battle, or the pursuit.

The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves up in Syracuse, where they could not fail of being besieged very soon, solicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilcar, whom so bold an enterprise might disconcert; besides which, they should find his troops satigued with their long and hasty march. The proposal pleased him at first; but upon resecting, that Mago, with the victorious sleet, might notwithstanding advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more advisable to return thither; which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilcar, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to refresh his army, and resit his sleet, which had

fuffered exceedingly by a violent storm.

(0) He then marched to Syracuse, and made his sleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred gallies, adorned with the spoils of their victory, made noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind

(o) Diod. p. 285, 296.

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At the same time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had dispatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Pharacides the Lacedæmonian. This re-inforcement came

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* The little port and that of Trogilus.

in very good time, and gave the Syracusans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five gallies and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chase with forty sail, to which they advanced with their whole sleet, and in the battle carried the admiral galley, damaged many others, took twenty sour, pursued the rest to the place where their whole sleet rode, and offered them battle a second time, which the Carthaginians, discouraged by the check they had received, were assault to accept.

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The Syracusans, emboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the gallies they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, which could be only ascribed to their valour; for Dionysius was then absent with a small detachment of the fleet to procure provisions, attended by Leptinus; they encouraged each other, and seeing they did not want arms, they reproached themselves with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of servitude, and

refuming their ancient liberty.

Whilit they were in the midst of these discourses, dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived; and having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the Syracusans upon their late victory, and promised in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to dismiss the assembly, when Theodorus, one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We are told (said he) of restoring peace, terminating the war, and of being delivered from the enemy. What signifies such language from Dionysius? Can we have peace in the wretched state of slavery imposed upon us? Have we any enemy more to be dreaded than the tyrant who subverts our

" liberty, or a war more cruel than that he has made upon us for so many years? Let Imilcar conquer, so

he contents himself with laying a tribute upon us, and leaves us the exercise of our laws: the tyrant that enslaves

" enflaves us, knows no other but his avarice, his cru-" elty, his ambition! The temples of the gods, robbed " by his facrilegious hands, our goods made a prey, and " our lands abandoned to his instruments, our persons daily exposed to the most shameful and cruel treat-" ment, the blood of fo many citizens shed in the midst " of us and before our eyes; these are the fruits of his " reign, and the peace he obtains for us! Was it for " the support of our liberties he built you citadel, that " he has enclosed it with such strong walls and high " towers, and has called in for his guard that tribe " of strangers and Barbarians, who infult us with im-" punity? How long, O Syracufans, shall we fuffer " fuch indignities, more insupportable to the brave and " generous than death itself? Bold and intrepid abroad " against the enemy, shall we always tremble like cowards in the prefence of a tyrant? Providence, which has again put arms into our hands, directs us " in the use of them! Sparta, and the other cities in our " alliance, who hold it their glory to be free and inde-" pendent, would deem us unworthy the Grecian name if " we had any other fentiments. Let us show that we " do not degenerate from our ancestors. If Dionysius-" confents to retire from amongst us, let us open him " our gates, and let him take along with him whatever "he pleases: but if he persists in the tyranny, let him · experience what effects the love of liberty has upon " the brave and determinate."

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspence betwixt hope and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, rofe up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty: but he did quite the reverse, and told them, that his republick had fent him to the aid of the Syracusans and Dionysius, and not to make war upon Dionysius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracufans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionysius

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that flaves perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interests; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and fami-

liarity.

(q) It must have been about this time that Polyxenus, Dionyfius's hrother-in-law, who had married his fifter Thesta, having without doubt declared against him in this conspiracy, fled from Sicily for the preservation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionysius fent for his fifter, and reproached her very much for not apprifing him of her husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least surprise or fear, " Have I then appeared " fo bad a wife to you, and of fo mean a foul, as to have " abandoned my husband in his flight, and not to have " defired to fhare in his dangers and misfortunes? No! I " knew nothing of it, or I should have been much hap-" pier in being called the wife of Polyxenus the exile, in " all places, than, in Syracuse, the sister of the tyrant." Dionysius could not but admire an answer so full of spirit and generofity; and the Syracufans in general were fo charmed with her virtue, that after the tyranny was fuppressed, the same honours, equipage, and train of a queen, which the had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to her tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.

On the fide of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new face on a fudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking the advantage of the consternation, which the fight of a fleet and army equally formidable had occasioned. The plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for the plundering of temples and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I have described the

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extraordinary symptoms of it in the history of the Carthaginians (r). To add to that misfortune, the Syracufans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by fea and land. The furprise, terror, and even hafte they were in, to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which fide to fend relief; all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were funk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women, and children, ran in crowds to the walls, to be witnesses of that scene of horrour, and lifted up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for fo fignal a protection of their city. The flaughter within and without the camp, and on board the veffels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilcar, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly three hundred thousand crowns (s) for permission to retire in the night with the remains of his army and seet. The tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginians some resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilcar set out with the Carthaginians, and only forty ships; leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians, discovering from the noise and motion of the gallies, that Imilcar was making off, sent to inform Dionysius of his slight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to pursue him: but as those orders were but slowly executed, they followed the enemy themselves, and sunk several vessels of their rear-guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their several countries. Having first posted troops in the passes, he advanced directly to the enemy's camp, though it was not quite day. The Barbarians,

who faw themselves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilcar and the Sicilians, lost courage and fled. Some of

⁽r) Tom. I. p. 163. (s) 300 talents.

them were taken by the troops in the passes; others laid down their arms and asked quarter. Only the Iberians drew up, and fent an herald to capitulate with Dionyfius, who incorporated them into his guards. The rest were

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Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which shows, fays the historian (t), that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that those, who are too much puffed up with power and fuccess, are soon forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty victors, masters of almost all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuse as already their own, and entered at first triumphant into the great port, infulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly thamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the fad ruins, and miferable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the facred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable fanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thoufand men, unburied in the enemy's country, returns to perish miserably at Carthage, avenging upon himself by his death the contempt he had expressed for gods and men.

Dionysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his fervice, removed ten thousand of them, and, under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodioufly fituated, and an advantageous fettlement. He confided the guard of his person to other foreigners, and the flaves he had made free. He made feveral attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, especially against Rhegium (u). The people of Italy, seeing themfelves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a stop to his conquests. The success was tolerably equal

on both fides.

(x) About this time, the Gauls, who some months before had burnt Rome, fent deputies to Dionysius to make

⁽u) Diod. 1. xiv. p. 304, 310. (1) Diodorus Siculus. (x) Juftin. 1. xx. c. 5.

vigour.

make an alliance with him, who was at that time in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

The Carthaginians having fet on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts against Syracuse, but with no better success than the They terminated in an accommodation with former.

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He attacked Rhegium again (y), and at first received no inconfiderable check. But having gained a great victory against the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thousand prisoners, he dismissed them all without ranfom, contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of diffolying a powerful league, which might have defeated his deligns. Having by this action of favour and generofity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incenfed against that city upon account of their refuling to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the infolent answer, with which that refusal was attended. The besieged, finding themselves incapable of refilting so numerous an army as that of Dionysius, and expecting no quarter, if the city were taken by affault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thousand crowns, deliver up all their veffels to the number of feventy, and put an hundred hostages into his hands; after which he raifed the fiege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he besieged them again with all his forces, first sending back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost

(y) A. M. 3615. Ant. J. C. 389.

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vigour. The defire of revenge on one fide, and the fear of the greatest cruelties on the other, animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more courageous. He made frequent and rude fallies. In one of them Dionysius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The fiege went on flowly, and had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A measure of wheat (of about fix bushels) was fold for two hundred and fifty livres (2). After having confumed all their horses and beasts of carriage, they were obliged to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beafts; a refource, of which Dionysius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to surrender at discretion, and Dionysius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took above six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to Syracuse. Such as could pay fifty livres (a) he dismissed, and sold the rest for flaves.

Dionysius let fall the whole weight of his resentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his fon to be thrown into the sea. The next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition, he fent to tell him that his fon had been thrown into the sea. "Then he is happier than me by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to fuffer a thousand other indignities, whilst an herald proclaimed, "that the perfidious traitor was " treated in that manner, for having inspired the people " of Rhegium with rebellion."—" Say rather," answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, " that a " faithful citizen is fo used, for having refused to facriss fice

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"fice his country to a tyrant." Such an object and fuch a discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the soldiers of Dionysius. He was asraid his prisoner would be taken from him before he had satisfied his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the sea directly.

SECT. IV. Violent passion of Dionysius for poefy.
Reflexions upon that taste of the tyrant. Generous freedom of Philoxenus. Death of Dionysius. His bad qualities.

(b) A T an interval which the fuccess against Rhegium had left Dionysius the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and piqued himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the chariotrace and poetry.

The circumstance which I am going to treat, and which regards the taste or rather passion of Dionysius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristicks, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, for a right understanding of it, to distinguish, wherein this taste of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I shall say as much upon the tyrant's total character, with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked, as they are not so in every respect. We have seen several things in his character that certainly deserve praise; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: The mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his sister Thesta upon account of her husband's slight, his gracious and infinuating deportment upon several other occasions to the Syracusans, the familiarity of his discourse with the meanest citizens and even workmen, the equality he

observed between his two wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all which imply that Dionysius had more of equity, moderation, affability, and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He is not such a tyrant as Phalaris, Alexander of Pheræ, Caligula, Nero, or Caracalla.

But to return to Dionysius's taste for poetry. In his intervals of leifure, he loved to unbend in the conversation of persons of wit, and in the sludy of arts and sciences. He was particularly fond of verfitying, and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of trage-Thus far this passion of his may be excused, having fomething undoubtedly laudable in it, I mean in the tafte for polite learning, the esteem expressed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the application of his leifure hours. Was it not better to employ them in the exercise of his wit and the cultivation of science, than feating, dancing, theatrical amusements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures still more pernicious? Which wife reflexion Dionysius the Younger made when at Corinth. (c) Philip of Macedon being at table with him, spoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and feemed to be under fome difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leifure for fuch compositions: Dionyfius smartly reparteed, The difficulty is very great indeed! Why, he composed them at those hours, which you and I, and an infinity of others, as we have reason to believe, pass in drinking and other divertions.

(d) Julius Cæsar and the emperor Augustus applied themselves to poetry, and composed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have written the memoirs of his military actions in verse. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lelius and Scipio, both great captains, especially the latter; and that report was so far from lessening

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⁽c) Plut. in Timol. p. 243. c. lxxxv. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.
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their reputation at Rome, that it added to the general elteem for them.

These unbendings therefore were not blameable in their own nature; this tafte for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionysius was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a superior or competitor in any thing. From being in the fole possession of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to imagine his wit of the same rank with his power: In a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate estimation of his own merit flowed in some measure from the over-bearing turn of mind, which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those, who knew how to recommend themselves by his darling foible, were another fource of this vain conceit. And of what will not a * great man, a minister, a prince, think himself capable, who has such incense and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richlieu, in the midst of the greatest affairs, not only composed dramatick poems, but piqued himself on his excellency that way; and what is more, his jealoufy in that point rose so high as to use authority by way of criticism upon the compositions of those, to whom the publick, a just and incorruptible judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things, which though estimable in themselves, and which do honour to private persons, it does not become a prince to desire to excel in. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son upon his having shown too much skill in musick at a publick entertainment: Are not you ashamed, said he, to sing so well? It was acting inconfishently with the dignity of his character. If Casfar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been ridiculous, but a reproach to them. And the reason

⁻ Nihil est quod credere de se Non possit, eam laudatur diis æqua potestas. Juvenal.

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reason is, because a prince being obliged by an essential and indispensible duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government, and having an infinitude of various business always recurring to him, he can make no other use of the sciences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as will not admit any great progress in them, and the excelling of those who employ themselves in no other study. Hence, when the publick sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, it may justly conclude, that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment, which wastes his time and application of mind inessectually.

We must however do Dionysius the justice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

(e) I have already faid, that this prince, in an interval of peace, had fent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariot-race in his name. When he arrived in the affembly, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and filver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen expressly for the occasion * readers with fonorous, mufical voices, who might be heard far and distinctly, and who knew how to give a just emphasis and numerosity to the verses they repeated. At first this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the art and sweetness of the pronunciation. But that charm was foon at an end, and the mind not long amused by the ears. The verses then appeared in all their ridicule. The audience were ashamed of having applauded them, and their praise was turned into laughter, fcorn, and infult. To express their contempt and indignation, they tore Dionysius's rich pavilion pieces.

(e) Diod. 1. xiv. p. 318.

* These readers were called Paladi.

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Lysias, the celebrated orator, who was come to pieces. the Olympick games to dispute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried feveral times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, the friend and affertor of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to share in the celebration of the facred games, who had no other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his power. Dionyfius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the lifts, were all of them either carried out of the course by an headlong impetuolity, or dashed in pieces against one another. And to complete the misfortune, the galley, which carried the persons Dionysius had fent to the games, met with a violent fform, and did not return to Syracuse without great difficulty; when the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems, which had occasioned so many miscarriages to the readers, racers, and even the ship itself. This bad success did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor make him abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetick vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to infinuate, that fuch injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that sooner or later the invidious themselves would be convinced by demonstration to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

(f) The extravagance of Dionysius in that respect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warrior, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To attempt to undeceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, had been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who eat at his table in great numbers, seemed to be in an extasy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Never according to them,

was there any comparison: all was great, all noble in his poetry: all was majestick, or, to speak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe, who did not run with the stream into excessive praises and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambick poetry. There is a story told of him, which Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small sish set before him, and a huge one before the king, the whim took him to lay his ear close to the little sish. He was asked his meaning by that pleasantry: I was enquiring (said he) into some affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but this young native of the floods can give me no information; yours is elder, and without doubt knows something of the matter."

Dionysius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having pressed him to give his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real sentiments. Dionysius, who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended, and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the Mines; the common gaol being so called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and sollicited for the generous prisoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged the next day, and restored to

At the entertainment made that day by Dionysius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reason more than usually gay and chearful; after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. He chose some passages, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to be master-pieces, as was very discernable from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whill they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he set the greatest

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greater value, as it was not his custom to be so prosuse of it as the rest. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his thoughts of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning towards the guards, who always stood round the table, he said in a serious, though humorous tone, without any emotion; Carry me back to the Mines. * The prince took all the salt and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offended. The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him excessively angry. He only laughed at it now, and did not make a quarrel of it with the poet.

He was not in the same temper upon a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and seemed to argue a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, that was the best of which the statutes of the Hermodius and Aristogiton were made. This witty expression (g), if it may be called so, cost him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus apprehending, that his too great liberty might be also attended with satal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they hate to hear any thing not agreeable to themselves; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is not qualified for a court; that the savours and liberalities, which Dionysius continually bestowed upon them, well deserved the return of complaisance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom, and plain truth, he was in danger of losing not only his fortune, but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the suture give such a turn to his answers, as should satisfy Dionysius without injuring truth.

Accordingly

⁽g) Plut. Moral. p. 78, & 833.

* Τότε μεν ελά την εὐτςαπελίαν τῶν λόςων μειδήσας; ὁ Διονύσι,

πεγίε την παβόησίαν τε γέλως την μέμι τι άμελυνού.

† Τίσε bad desivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisstratides.

Accordingly fome time after, Dionysius having read a piece of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he was to move compassion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addressed himself again to Phil loxenus, and asked him his sentiments upon it. Philox. enus gave him for answer (b) one word, which in the Greek language has two different fignifications. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, fuch as infpire fentiments of pity and compassion: in the other, it expresses something very mean, defective, pitiful, and miserable. Dionysius, who was fond of his verses, and believed that every body must have the same good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely fatisfied with Philoxenus. The ref of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right fense, though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for verification. It ap. pears from Diodorus Siculus (i), that having fent his poems a fecond time to Olympia, they were treated with the fame ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into a excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned foon after into a kind of madness and phrenzy He complained that envy and jealoufy, the certain ene mies of true merit, were always at variance with him and that all the world conspired to the ruin of his reputation. He accused his best friends with the same delign; fome of whom he put to death, and others he banished; amongst whom were Leptinus his brother, and Philistus who had done him fuch great fervices, and to whom he was obliged for his power. They retired to Thurium Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after and re-instated in all their fortunes and his favour: Lep tinus in particular, who married Dionysius's daughter.

(k) To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, it was necessary to find some employment, with which his wars and buildings supplied him. He has formed a design of establishing powerful colonies in the

(b) Olurea. (i) Pag. 332. (k) Diod. L xv. p. 336, 337.

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part of Italy, fituate upon the Adriatick Sea, facing Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a fecure retreat, when he should employ his forces on that side; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and restored Alcetes king of the Molossians to his throne. His principal defign was to attack Epirus, and to make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amatling in the temple of Delphos. Before he could fet this project on foot, which required great preparations, he feemed to make an essay of his genius for it, by another of the fame kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tufcany, under the pretence of pursuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the fuburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a fum exceeding four millions five hundred thousand livres (1). He had occasion for money to support his great expences at Syracuse, as well in fortifying the port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred gallies, as to enclose the whole city with good walls, erect magnificent temples, and build a place of exercise upon the banks of the river Anapus.

(m) At the same time he formed the design of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A first victory which he gained, put him almost into a condition to accomplish his project; but the loss of a second battle, in which his brother Leptinus was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up several towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great sums of money to reimburse their expences in the war. An attempt which he made upon them some years after, taking advantage of the desolation occasioned

by the plague at Carthage, had no better fuccefs.

(n) Another victory of a very different kind, though not less at his heart, made him amends, or at least comforted him for the ill success of his arms. He had caused tragedy of his to be represented at Athens for the prize in

1). 1500 talents, or about 200,000l. sterling. (m) See the history of the Carthaginians. (n) Diod. p. 384, 385.

in the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory with the Athenians, who were the best judges of this kind of literature, feems to argue the poetry of Dionysius not so mean and pitiful, and that it is very possible, the aversion of the Greeks for every thing which came from a tyrant, had a great share in the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the Olympick However it was, Dionysius received the news with inexpressible transports of joy. Publick thanksgivings were made to the gods, the temples being scarce capable of containing the concourse of the people. Nothing was feen throughout the city, but feasting and rejoicing; and Dionysius regaled all his friends with the most extraordinary magnificence. Self-fatisfied to a degree that cannot be described, he believed himself at the summit of glory, and did the honours of his table with a gaiety and eafe, and at the fame time with a grace and dignity that charmed all the world. He invited his guests to eat and drink more by his example than expressions, and carried his civilities of that kind to fuch an excess, that at the close of the banquet he was seised with violent pains, occasioned by an indigestion, of which it was not difficult to foresee the consequences.

(0) Dionysius had three children by his wife Doris, and four by Aristomache, of which two were daughters, the one named Sophrosyne, the other Arete. Sophrosyne was married to his eldest son, Dionysius the Younger, whom he had by his Locrian wife, and Arete espoused her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying soen, Dion married his widow, Arete, who was his own niece.

As Dionysius's distemper left no hopes of his life, Dion took upon him to discourse him upon his children by Aristomache, who were at the same time his brothers-in-law and nephews, and to infinuate to him, that it was just to prefer the issue of his Syracusan wife to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous of making their court to young Dionysius, the Locrian's son, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him time to alter

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his purpose: For Dionysius having demanded a medicine to make him sleep, they gave him so strong a dose, as quite stupished his senses, and laid him in a sleep that lasted him for the rest of his life. He had reigned thirty-

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He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occasion for them all in raising himself as he did from a mean condition to so high a rank. After having held the fovereignty thirty-eight years, he transmitted it peaceably to a successor of his own iffue and election; and had established his power upon fuch folid foundations, that his fon, netwithstanding the flenderness of his capacity for governing, retained it twelve years after his death. All which could not have been effected without a great fund of merit as to his capacity. But what qualities could cover the vices, which rendered him the object of his subjects abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limitation; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most facred places; his cruelty had often no regard to the affinity of blood; and his open and professed impiety only acknowledged the divinity to infult him.

In his return to Syracuse with a very savourable wind from plundering the temple of Proserpine at Locris, See, said he to his friends with a smile of contempt, how the immortal gods favour the navigation of the sacrilegious.

(p) Having occasion for money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, he risled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of solid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, saying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and at the same time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such an habit would be commodious in all seasons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Æsculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his reason,

⁽p) Cie. de Nat. Deor. 1. xv. n. 83, 84.

that it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard *, when the father had none.

He caused all the tables of silver to be taken out of the temples; and as there was generally inscribed upon them according to the custom of the Greeks, TO THE GOOD GODS; he would (he said) take the benefit of their GOODNESS.

As for less prizes, such as cups and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, those he carried off without any ceremony; saying, it was not taking, but receiving them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them, when they held out their hands themselves to present them to you. These spoils were carried by his order to the market, and sold at the publick sale: and when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their custody any things taken out of sacred places, should restore them entire within a limited time to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to

the gods, injustice to man.

The amazing precautions that Dionysius thought neceffary to the fecurity of his life, show to what anxiety and apprehension he was abandoned. (q) He wore under his robe a cuirass of brass. He never harangued the people but from the top of an high tower; and thought proper to make himself invulnerable by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in any of his friends or relations, his guard was composed of flaves and flrangers. went abroad as little as possible; fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment. extraordinary precautions regard without doubt certain intervals of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him rendered him more timid and fuspicious than ufual; for at other times we have feen that he converfed freely enough with the people, and was accessible even to familiarity. In those dark days of distrust and fear, he fancied

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(r) (t) Plu Max.

⁽⁹⁾ Cic. Tusc. Quest. 1. v. n. 57, 63, * Apollo's statues bad no beards.

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fancied that he faw all mankind in arms against him. (r) A word which escaped his barber, who boasted, by way of jest, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, cost him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that despicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the scissars and razors from them, and taught them to finge off his beard with nut-shells. (s) He was at last reduced to do himself that office, not daring it feems to trust his own daughters any longer. He never went into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was furrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small draw-bridge over it for the entrance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his appartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might fleep in fecurity. (t) Neither his brother, nor even his fon, could be admitted into his chamber without first changing their clothes, and being vifited by the guards. Is patfing one's days in fuch a continual circle of difgust and terror, to live, to reign!

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and surrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of almost forty years, notwithstanding all his presents and profusions, he never was capable of making a single friend. He passed his life with none but trembling slaves and sordid slatterers, and never tasted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, nor the charms of social truth and reciprocal confidence. This he owned himself

upon an occasion not unworthy of repetition.

(u) Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually sworn to observe with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a severe tryal. One of Vol. V.

⁽r) Plut de Garrul. p. 508.

(s) Cic. de Offic. 1. ii. n. 55.

(t) Plut in Dion. p. 961.

(u) Cic. de Offic. 1. iii. n. 43. Val.

Max. 1. iv. c. 7.

them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permission to make a journey into his own country, to fettle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his fecurity. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of fo delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern, replied with tranquillity in his looks, and confidence in his expressions, that he was affured his friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the day The tyrant struck with admiration at and hour agreed. fo uncommon an instance of fidelity, and softened with the view of fo amiable an union, granted him his life, and defired to be admitted as a third person into their friendship.

(x) He expressed with equal ingenuity on another occasion what he thought of his condition. One of his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually extolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his possession; always repeating that never man was happier than Dionysius. "Because " you are of that opinion (faid the tyrant to him one " day) will you taste, and make proof of my felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with joy. Damocles, was placed upon a golden bed, covered with carpets of inestimable value. The fideboards were loaded with vessels of gold and filver. The most beautiful slaves in the most splendid habits stood around, watching the least fignal to serve him. The most exquisite essences and perfumes had not been spared. The table was spread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld

(x) Cic. Tufc. Quæft. 1. v. n. 61. 62.

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over his head the point of a fword, which hung from the roof only by a fingle horfe-hair. He was immediately feifed with a cold fweat; every thing disappeared in an instant; he could see nothing but the sword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he defired permiffion to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant. Ours reigned, as I have observed before, thirtyeight years.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. DIONYSIUS the Younger Succeeds his father. DION engages him to invite PLATO to his court. Surprising alteration occasioned by his presence. Conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent the effects of it.

DIONYSIUS the Elder was fucceeded by one of his fons of his own name, commonly called Dionysius the Younger. After his father's funeral had been folemnifed with the utmost magnificence, he affembled the people, and defired they would have the fame good inclinations for him as they had professed for his father. They were very different from each other in their character. (z) For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition, as the former was active and enterprifing; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wife and judicious understanding, and not of natural floth and indolence of temper.

It was furprifing to fee Dionysius the Younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithstanding the passion of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience. It feemed as if the last years of the

elder (y) A. M. 3632. Ant. J. C. 373. Diod, b. xv. p. 3894 1 AVL p. 410.

elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to the tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage itself, as well as to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which it was to be feared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might deprive them of those advantages: and at the same time the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most savourable hopes of the suture. He therefore peaceably ascended his father's throne.

England has feen fomething of this kind in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as the most lawful sovereign. Richard his son succeeded him, and was for some time in equal authority with his father, though he had not any of his

great qualities.

(a) Dion, the bravest, and at the same time the wisest of the Syracusans, Dionysius's brother-in-law, might have been of great support to him, had he known how to make use of his counsels. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends, Dion spoke in so wise a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as showed that the rest were like infants in comparison with him, and in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than despicable flaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the abject endeavour of pleasing the prince. But what surprised and amazed them most was that Dion, at a time when the whole court were struck with terrour at the prospect of the storm, forming on the side of Carthage, and just ready to break upon Sicily, should insist, that if Dionysius defired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa,

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Dionysius admiring and extolling his generous magnanimity to the skies, professed the highest gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his great power as a lessening of their own, took immediate occasion from thence to calumniate him, and spared no discourse that might influence the young prince against him. They infinuated, that in making himself strong at sea, he would open his way to the tyranny; and that he designed to transport the sovereignty on board his ressels to his nephews, the sore of Aristomache.

veilels to his nephews, the fons of Aristomache.

But what put them most out of humour with Dion, was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. For these courtiers having presently infinuated themselves, and got the ascendant of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in feasting, abandoned to women and all manner of shameful pleasures. beginning of his reign he made a debauch which continued for three months entire, during all which time his palace, thut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and refounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and every kind of gross and difsolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who gave into none of these pleasures. For which reason, painting his virtues in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to disguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and sedition. If he advanced any wife counsel they treated him as a four pedagogue, who took

(b) Athen. I. x. p. 435.

took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to school his prince without being asked; and if he refused to share in the debauch with the rest, they called him a man hater, a splenetick melancholy wretch, who from the fantastick height of virtue looked down with contempt on the rest of the world, of whom he fet himself up for the censor.

And indeed it must be confessed, that he had naturally fomething auftere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which feemed to argue an haughtiness of nature, very capable not only of difgusting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidst flatteries and submissions, but the best of his friends, and those who were most nearly attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude, and nobleness of sentiments, they represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himself to the different tempers of men, and how to apply them to his purposes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding. (c) Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philosopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was very proper to inspire him with more eafy and infinuating manners. He observes also upon that failing in a letter to him, wherein he speaks to this effect: "Consider, I beg you, that you are censured " of being deficient in point of good nature and affability; " and be entirely affured, that the most certain means to " the fuccess of affairs, is to be agreeable to the persons " with whom we have to transact. An * haughty car-" riage keeps people at a distance, and reduces a man to " pass his life in solitude." Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly confidered at court; where his fuperior abilities and transcendent merit made him abfolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and emergency. As

(c) Plat. Epist. iv.

* 'Ho' aibastea ignula govoino. wherein this version is faulty. Art

(d) nylius ignoral remedy of wit might not na

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M. Dacier renders these words; of teaching the Belles Lettres. Pride is always the companion of Vol. 111. p. 505. solitude. I have shown elsewhere,

(d) As he believed, that all the vices of young Dionylius were the effect of his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived justly, that the best remedy would be to affociate him if possible with persons of wit and sense, whose solid, but agreeable conversation, might at once instruct and divert him: for the prince did.

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The fequel will show that Dionysius the Younger had a natural propenfity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. - He knew how to fet a value upon the merit and talents, by which men are distinguished. He delighted in conversing with perfons of ability, and from his correspondence with them, made himself capable of the highest improvements. went fo far as to familiarize the throne with the Iciences, which of themselves have little or no access to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility by which he raifed them. to honour and diffinction. Nor was he infentible to the joys of friendship. In private he was a good parent, relation, and mafter, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be faid of him, that he was rather a tyrant by fuccession and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonstrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince (not to say a good one) had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore necessary to find a person of the character beforementioned, or rather to inspire himself with the desire

of having fuch an one found.

This (d) Plut. in Dion. p. 962. Plat. Epist. vii. p. 327, 328.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful address. He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him particularly as the man of the world most capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happiness depended. He told him, that his fubjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and juffice, which force and violence extorted from them against their will; and that by fuch a conduct he would from a tyrant, become a just king, to whom all submission would be paid out of affection and gravitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated design, enslamed the young prince with the desire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner to that purpose; he dispatched couriers after couriers to hasten his voyage; whilst Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had small hopes of any good effect of it, protracted the affair, and without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not refolve upon it, without doing violence to himself. The obstacles and difficulties made to the young prince's request, were so far from difgusting him, that they only ferved, as it commonly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers of Græcia Major in Italy joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who on his part redoubled his instances, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's repugnance. " This is not (faid he) the concern " of a private person, but of a powerful prince, whole " change of manners will have the fame effect throughout " his whole dominions, with the extent of which you

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" are not unacquainted. It is himself who makes all these " advances; who importunes and folicits you to come to " his affiftance, and employs the interest of all your " friends to that purpose. What more favourable con-" juncture could we expect from the divine providence " than that which now offers itself? Are you not asraid " that your delays will give the flatterers, who furround " the young prince, the opportunity of drawing him " over to themselves, and of seducing him to change his " refolution? What reproaches would you not make " yourfelf, and what dishonour would it not be to phi-" losophy, should it ever be faid, that Plato, whose " counfels to Dionysius might have established a wife " and equitable government in Sicily, abandoned to all " the evils of tyranny, rather than undergo the fatigues " of a voyage, or from I know not what other imagi-" nary difficulties?"

(e) Plato could not refift folicitations of fo much force. Vanquished by the consideration of his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philosopher in words only, without having ever shown himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his voyage, he suffered

himself to be persuaded.

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The flatterers at the court of Dionysius, terrified with the resolution he had taken contrary to their remonstrances, and fearing the presence of Plato, of which they foresaw the consequences, united together against him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be measured by the standard of true merit, and no favour to be expected from the prince, but for the services done the state, they had nothing surther to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose. They therefore spared no pains to render Plato's voyage inessectual, though they were not able to prevent it. They prevailed upon Dionysius to recall Philistus from banishment, who was not only an able

(e) Plut. p. 962

foldier but a great historian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous affertor of the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius the Elder, on some personal discontent, he retired into the city of Adria, where it was believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. (f) He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionylius the tyrant in fix; all which works are lost. Cicero praises * him much, and calls him Thucydides the lefs, pene pufillus Thucydides, to fignify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dion to Dionysius, accusing him of having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides, the fecret enemies of that prince, upon measures for subverting the tyranny.

(g) This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite caresses, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's chariots equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments attending upon him. The tyrant offered a facrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him; nor was he mistaken, for a wise man, who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the worth of such a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uses which might

be made of it.

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in young Dionysius, who applied himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precepts and example of Socrates his master, the most exquisite of all the pagan world in forming the mind for a right taste of truth, he took care to adapt himself with

(f) Diod. 1. xiii. p. 222.

* Hunc (Thucydidem) confecutus
est Syracusius Philistus, qui cum
Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset,
otium suum consumpsit in historia
seribenda, maximeque Thucydidem

(g) Plut. in Dion. p. 963. est, figut est mihi videtur, imitatus. Cic. de Orat. 1. 11. n. 57.

Siculus ille creber, acutus, brevis, pene pusillus Thucydides. Id. Epif. xiii. ad Qu. frut. 1. ii.

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with wonderful address to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and infinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, at the same time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains, by the sole force of allure-

ments, pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was fudden and furprifing. The young prince, who had abandoned himself till then to idleness, pleasure, and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a diffolute life, awaking as from a lethargick fleep, began to open his eyes, to have some idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleasure of conversation equally solid and agreeable. He was now as pathonately fond of learning and inftruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to them. The court, which always apes the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like fo many schools of geometry, were full of the dust made use of by the professors of that science in tracing their figures; and in a very short time the study. of philosophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and univerfal tafte.

The great benefit of these studies in regard to a prince does not consist alone in storing his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary notions of things, but has the surther advantage of abstracting himfelf from idleness, indolence, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and resection; of inspiring him with a passion to inform himfelf in the duties of the sovereignty, and to know the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes, that is to say, to be indeed a king; but that the courtiers and flatterers are almost always unani-

mous in oppoling.

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They were confiderably alarmed by a word that escaped Dionysius, and showed how much he was affected with the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the anniversary, on which a solemn sacrifice was offered in the palace for the prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect, according to custom, That it would please the gods to support the tyranny, and preserve the tyrant: Dionysius, who was not far from him, and to whom these terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, Will you not give over curfing me? Philiftus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an invincible ascendant over Dionysius, if the correspondence of a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themselves at work upon new and more effectual stratagems against him.

They began by turning the retired life which Dionysius led with Plato, and the studies in which he employed himself, into ridicule, as if intended to make a philosopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected, They reprefented them as * imand even odious to him. pertinent cenfors and imperious pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which neither confifted with his age nor rank. † It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius, who, with the most excellent natural parts, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to fuch artful infinuations in a court, that had long been infected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually befieged by 2 crowd of flatterers inceffantly praifing and admiring him

in every thing.

* Triftes & superciliosos alienæ vitæ censores, publicos pædagogos. Sen. Epift. cxxiii.

† Vix artibus honestis pudor re-

tinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris servaretur. Tacit. Annal. 1 iv. c. 15.

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But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himself; not feparately, nor in the method of whisper, but all together, and in publick. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing that it was very visible, Dion made use of Plato's eloquence, to infinuate and enchant Dionysius, with a design to draw him into a voluntary refignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristromache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by fea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionysius, by perfuading him to difmifs the ten thousand strangers of his guard; to lay aside his fleet of four hundred gallies, which he always kept in readiness for service; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the fake of going to find in the academy (the place where Plato taught) a pretended supreme good not explicable, and to make himfelf happy in imagination by the fludy of geometry, whilft he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and fubflantial felicity, confifting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleafure.

SECT. II. Banishment of DION. PLATO quits the court soon after, and returns into Greece. DION admired by all the learned. PLATO returns to Syracuse.

THE courtiers, intent upon making the best use of every favourable moment, perpetually besieged the young prince, and covering their secret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, incessantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourses soon raised in the mind of Dionysius the most violent suspicions of Dion, which presently increased into sierce resentment, and broke out in an open rupture.

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rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionyfius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he tells them, that when they should treat of peace with Dionyfius, he would advise them not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would affift them in making the treaty more firm and lasting. Dionysius read these letters to Philistus, and having concerted with him what measures to take, (b) he amused Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the fea-fide below the citadel, where he showed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him. with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himfelf, but he refused to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there.. Dion. immediately after fet fail for Peloponnesus.

(i) So hard and unjust a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noise, and the whole city declared against it; especially as it was reported; though without foundation, that Plato had been put to death.

(k) Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the publick discontent, and to obviate complaints. He gave Dion's relations two vessels to transport to him in Peloponnesus his riches and numerous

family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As foon as Dion was gone, Dionysius made Plato change his lodgings, and brought him into the citadel; in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato near to him, he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodiously. For charmed with the delights of his conversation, and studious of pleasing him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealously, but a jealously of that violence, that could suffer neither companion nor rival. He was for engrossing

(b) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 410, 411.
(k) Plat. Ep, vii.

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engrossing him entirely to himself, for reigning solely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and esteem. He seemed content to give him all his treasures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion a tyrannick affection (1). Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most ardent jealously. * Sometimes it was all friendship, caresses, and fond respect, with an unbounded essusion of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments: Sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, sierce passion, and wild emotion; and soon after it sunk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveness.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently for Plato, which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty, and send him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with presents, but Plato resuled them, contenting himself with his promise to recall Dion the solutioning spring: he did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenues, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time presixed, and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, as soon as peace should be concluded, that Dion should return; upon condition, however, that he should continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato, in his return to Greece, went to fee the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongst strangers of distinction. He eat and passed whole days with them, behaving himself in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himself known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The strangers were overjoyed with having met with so kind and amiable a companion; but as he

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(1) 'Heardn rupdwinov Egara.

^{*} In amore hæc omnia infunt vitia; suspiciones, inimicitiæ, injuriæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rursum. Tepax rursum. Horat-

never talked of any thing out of common conversation, they had not the least notion, that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were scarce arrived there, when they desired him to carry them to see the famous philosopher of his name, who had been Socrates's disciple. Plato told them smiling, that he was the man; upon which the strangers, surprised at their having possessed in inestimable a treasure without knowing it, were much displeased with, and secretly reproached themselves for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of simplicity and modesty he had thrown over it, whilst they admired him the more upon that account.

(m) The time Dion passed at Athens was not lost. He employed it chiesly in the study of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his passion. * He knew however, which is not very easy, to confine it within its just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expence of any duty. It was at the same time Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who uniting the easy and insinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs, and by that character, very rarely sound amongst men of learning, was the most proper of all men to soften what was too rough and austere in the humour of Dion.

Whilst Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the publick games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expence, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was studious of all occasions of producing him to the publick, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, as his magnificence might make

(m) Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

* Retinuitque, qued est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum. Tacit is vit. Agric. n. 4.

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Dion visited also the other cities of Greece, where he was prefent at all their feafts and affemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits, and the most profound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the loftiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple, and modest air; and especially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reflections. All cities paid him the highest honours, and the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the refentment of Dionysius, though he actually affifted them at that time with a powerful supply in their war against the Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered them to be received by his own officers.

(n) After Dionysius had put an end to the war he was engaged in in Sicily, of which history relates no circumstance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philosophers against him, and make him pass for their enemy. For this reason he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent attemblies, in which, out of a foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; venting, without application, fuch of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those discourses only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the fource of his eloquence was foon exhausted. He then perceived what he had lost by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom once in his own posfession and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular Dionysius was suddenly seised with an excessive desire of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He

⁽n) Plat. Epist. vii. p. 338, 340. Plut. in Dion. p. 964, 966.

losophers to write to him, that he might return with all manner of fecurity; and to be bound for the performance

deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the

fame time two gallies of three benches of rowers, with

feveral of his friends on board, to intreat his compliance.

He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which

he frankly declared, that if he would not be perfuaded to

come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him;

but if he came, that he might entirely dispose of every

of all the promises which had been made to him.

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thing in his power. Dion received several letters at the same time from his wife and fifter, who pressed him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to fatisfy the impatience of Dionyfius that he might have no new pretexts against him upon Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not refift the warm follicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the third time, at feventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themselves, that his wisdom would at length overthrow the tyranny, and the joy of Dionysius was in-

expressible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the most honourable in the palace, and had so much confidence in him, that he suffered his access

to him at all hours, without being fearched; a favour not granted to any of his best friends.

After the first caresses were over, Plato was for entering into Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at first; to which ensued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expressed for The tyrant took great care to conceal his fentiments upon that head, endeavouring by all manner of honours, and by all possible regard and complacency, to abate his friendship for Dien. Plato dissembled on his fide, and though extremely shocked at so notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himfelf.

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Whilst they were upon these terms, and believed that sobody penetrated their secret, Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain lay there would be an eclipse of the sun; which happening according to his prediction exactly at the hour, Dionylus was so much surprised and astonished at it (a proof that he was no great philosopher) that he made him a present of a * talent. Aristippus jesting upon that occasion, aid, that he had also something very incredible and extraordinary to foretell. Upon being pressed to explain himself, "I prophesy, (said he) that it will not be long before Dionysius and Plato, who seem to agree so well with each other, will be enemies."

Dionysius veressed this prediction; for being weary of he constraint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's ands and effects to be sold, and applied the money to his wn use. At the same time he made Plato quit the partments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the castle in the midst of his guards, who had long ated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity o kill him, because he had advised Dionysius to renounce he tyranny, to break them, and to live without any other ward but the love of his people. Plato was sensible that e owed his life to the tyrant's savour, who restrained the ary of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who as the principal person, and supreme magistrate of Tantum, had no sooner heard of Plato's great danger, than e sent ambassadors with a galley of thirty oars to demand im from Dionysius, and to remind him, that he came Syracuse only upon his promise, and that of all the ythagorean philosophers, who had engaged for his safety; at therefore he could not retain him against his will, nor sterany insult to be done to his person, without a manist breach of faith, and absolutely sorseiting the opinion all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened sense of shame in the tyrant, who at last permitted ato to return into Greece.

Philofophy

^{*} A thousand crowns.

(a) Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him. To the conversations, as agreeable as useful, to that taste and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wise politician, idle tattle, frivolous amusements, and a stupid indolence, entirely averse to every thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery, resumed their empire at the court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, which it had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.

SECT. III. DION sets out to deliver Syracuse. Sudden and fortunate success of his enterprise. Horrid ingratitude of the Syracusans. Unparalleled goodness of Dion to them and his most cruel enemies. His death.

(p) WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius threw off all referve, and married his sister Arete, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends, So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the fignal of the war. From that moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himself of all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his refolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the misfortunes he was about to occasion, and declared, that he must expect neither affistance nor relief from him; that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace, had joined in the fame facrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting to his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the office of a mediator between them, though he should oppose their designs, when they tended to the destruction of each other.

Whether prudence or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not justifiably undertake to dethrone Dionyfius;

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⁽o) Plut. in Moral. p. 52. (p) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361. Plut in Dion. p. 966, 968.

Speufippus, and all the rest of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and restore the liberty of Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse, which Speusippus, during his residence there with Plato, had sufficiently experienced. This was the universal cry; whilst they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant vessel he met with, and lend his person and name to the Syracusans against Dionysius.

Dion did not hefitate any longer upon taking that refolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracuse and Sicily, he had led in his banishment, the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine, for a person, who like him had contracted a talte for the delights of study. He enjoyed in peace the convertation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; shining in a manner entirely peculiar to himself by the greatness of his genius, and the folidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece; to see and converse with the most eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the ablest politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving, whereever he came, the highest honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from fo happy a life that he withdrew himself to go to the relief of his country which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No enterprise perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, or conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very surprising, of all those the tyrant had banished, and who were not less

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than a thousand, only twenty-five accompanied him in this expedition, so much had fear got the possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of almost eight hundred; but all of them courage-proved on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and waslike; and, in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of fetting them the example of fighting with

all the valour so noble an enterprise required.

But when they were to fet forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Diony. fins, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in a consternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprise, which they could not but conceive as the effect of extreme rathness and folly, that in the last despair was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence to re-animate the troops, and remove their fears. But after he had spoke to them and with an affured though modest tone, had made them understand, that he did not 'lead them in this expedition as foldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracufans, and all the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a revolt, their dread and fadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they defired nothing fo much as to proceed on their voyage.

Dion having prepared a magnificent factifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops completely armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company, at the end of which, after the libations and folemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, re-assured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that account. The next day they embarked on board two trading vessels, which were followed by a third not so large,

and by two barks of thirty oars.

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(r) Who could have imagined, says an historian, that a man with two merchant-vessels should ever date to attack a prince, who had four * hundred ships of war, an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of arms, and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them, who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with ports, arsenals, and impregnable citadels, with the additional strength and support of a great number of potent allies? The event will show, whether force and power are adamantine chains for retaining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius slattered himself; or if the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and the love of subjects, are not infinitely stronger and more indissoluble ties.

(s) Dion having put to sea with his small body of troops, was twelve days under sail with little wind, and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus, a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse. When they came up with that place, the pilot gave notice that they must land directly, that there was reason to fear an hurricane, and therefore not proper to put to sea. But Dion, who apprehended making his descent so near the enemy, and chose to land farther off, doubled the cape of Pachynus, which he had no sooner passed, than a surious storm arose, attended with rain, thunder, and lightening, which drove his ships to the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in danger of dashing to pieces against the rocks. Happily for them a south wind rising suddenly, contrary

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⁽r) Diod. l. xvi. p. 413. l. xvi. p. 414, 417.

bow the Dionysii were capable of entertaining so great a force by sea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and consequently of no grat extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuse bad been very much enriched by commerce; and that those two princes received great contributions both from the places of Sicily

⁽s) Plut. in Dion. p. 968, 972. Diod.

and Italy in their dependence: but it is still no easy matter to conceive bow all this should suffice to the enormous expences of Dionysius the Elder, in suiting out great sleets, raising and maintaining numerous armies, and eresting magnificent buildings. It were to be wished, that historians had given us some better lights upon this head.

to expectation, they unfurled all their fails, and after having made vows to the gods, they stood out to sea for Sicily. They ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a small town of Sicily under the Carthaginians; whose commander, Synalus, was Dion's particular friend and guest. They were perfectly well received, and would have staid there some time to refresh themselves, after the rude fatigues they had suffered during the storm, if they had not been informed that Dionysius was absent, having embarked some days before for the coast of Italy, attended by sourscore vessels. The soldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy, and Dion, having desired Synalus to send his baggage after him, when proper, marched directly to Syracuse.

His troops increased considerably upon his rout, by the great number of those who came to join him from all parts. The news of his arrival being foon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the fifter of Dionysius, to whom he had left the command of the city in his absence, dispatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But that courier, being almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued with having run the best part of the night, that he found himfelf under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the fmell of a piece of meat, which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the fleth and the bag, in which he had also put his dispatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for some time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other

hands

When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs about half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to half and offered a facrifice upon the river fide, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were present, seeing him with a wreath of slowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the facrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner, as animated with one and the same spirit. He had been joined on his march by at less

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five thousand men, and advanced with them towards the city. The most considerable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the same time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the spies and informers, an accursed race of wretches, The enemies of their loss and men, says Plutarch, who made it the business of their lives to disperse themselves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they said or thought, and often what they neither said nor thought. These were the first victims to the sury of the people, and were knocked on the head with staves immediately. Timocrates, not being able to throw himself into the citadel, rode off on horseback.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one side, and Calippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of slowers. After him came an hundred of the foreign soldiers, fine troops, whom he had chosen for his guard. The rest sollowed in order of battle, with their officers at the head of them. The Syracusans beheld them with inexpressible satisfaction, and received them as a facred procession, whom the gods themselves regarded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty with the democracy, forty-eight years after they had been ba-

nished from their city.

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After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the trumpets to found, to appeale the noise and tumult; and silence being made, an herald proclaimed, that Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant. And being desirous to harangue the people in person, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achradina. Wherever he passed, the Syracusans had set out, on both sides of the streets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims, and as he came Vol. V.

^{* &#}x27;Aार्ग्वास्ट बंग्वहांष्ट्र में प्रेश्वास के

before their houses, they threw all forts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and signal services. And can there be any service so grateful, any gift, so valuable, as that of liberty? Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, stood a fun-dial upon an high pedestal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it, and in a speech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and preservation of their liberty. The Syracusans, transported with what he faid, and to express their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captain-generals with supreme authority; and by their consent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the most confiderable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who had been banished by Dionysius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Epipulis, he set the citizens who were prisoners in it at liberty, and sortified it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had lest with Synalus. These he distributed amongst the citizens who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest ardour and satisfaction.

Dionyfius began by fending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusans with proposals, which seemed very advantageous. The answer was, that by way of preliminary, he must abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only seints to gain time, and abate the ardour of the Syracusans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly having made the deputies, who were sent to treat with him, prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall with which the Syracusans had surrounded the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm and unexpected

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an affault, put Dion's foldiers into great confusion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them, and believing example more prevalent than words, he threw himself fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he stood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his arms was scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him, and his thield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length heat down. His foldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them, and getting on horseback, rode through the whole city, stopped the flight of the Syraculans, and taking the foreign foldiers, whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on fresh against Dionysius's troops, who were already fatigued and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a refistance. It was now no longer a battle but a pursuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed on the spot, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was fignal and glorious. The Syracufans to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a confiderable fum of money; and those foldiers, to honour Dion, prefented him with a crown of gold.

Soon after came heralds from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his samily, and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full assembly. That of Dionysius was couched in the form of a request and justification, intermixed however with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion; his sister, wise, and son. It was written with an art and address exceedingly proper to render Dion suspected. Dionysius puts him in mind of the ardour and zeal, he had formerly expressed, for the support of the tyranny. He exhorts him at a distance, and with some obscurity, though easy enough to be understood, not to abolish it entirely; but to preserve it for himself. He advises him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from affecting him at

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heart; nor to abandon his own fafety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent

and inconstant multitude.

(t) The reading of this letter had the effect Dionysius proposed from it. The Syracusans, without regard to Dion's goodness to them, and the greatness of his foul in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious suspicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their fentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a good soldier, and well known amongst the troops, from having been in considerable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a fecret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himfelf there had been some difference in Peloponnesus. He came to Syarcuse with seven gallies of three benches of oars, and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but in the resolution to march with his own forces against the tyrant, whom he found reduced to shut himself up in the citadel. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people; for which an open and infinuating behaviour made him very fit, whilft Dion's auftere gravity was offensive to the multitude; especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and * expected to be treated like a popular state, even before they could call themselves a feee people; that is to say, in the full sense of the Greek terms, they were for being used with complaisance, flattery, regard, and a defference to all their capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people, that consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracusans formed an assembly immediately upon their own accord, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of such a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides, was an abridgement of his office; that he was no longer

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⁽¹⁾ Plut. in Dion. p. 972, 975. Diod. l. xvi. p. 419, 422.

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generalissimo, if another commanded at sea. Those remonstrances obliged the Syracusans, against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had so lately conferred upon him. When the assembly broke up, Dion sent for him, and after some gentle reprimands for his strange conduct with regard to him in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division amongst them might ruin every thing, he summoned a new assembly himself, and, in the presence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himself.

He thought by the force of kind offices to get the better of his rival's ill-will, who, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality, which expressed an entire devotion to his fervice, and a defire of occasions to do him pleasure. But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people against him, and opposed his defigns in every thing. If Dion gave his consent that Dionysius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused of favouring, and intending to save him: if, to fatisfy them, he continued the fiege without hearkening to any propofals of accomodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the defire of protracting the war, for the fake of continuing in command, and to keep the citizens in awe and respect.

Philistus, who came to the tyrant's relief with several gallies, having been deseated and put to death, Dionysius sent to offer Dion the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty to retire into Italy for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans, who were in hopes of taking Dionysius alive, rejected those proposals; and Dionysius, despairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a savourable wind, embarked for (u) Italy

(u) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

with his treasures and effects of the greatest value, and

fuch of his friends as were dearest to him.

Heraclides, who commanded the gallies, was very much blamed for having suffered him to escape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, infinuating, that as liberty was founded in equality, so poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heraclides persuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thousand men, to declare a new division of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themselves in good time from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracusans agreed, and nominated twenty-sive new officers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the same time they sent privately to solicit the soreign soldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with them, promising to give them a share in the government as natives and citizens. Those generous troops received the offer with disdain; and then placing Dion in the center of them, with a sidelity and affection of which there are sew examples, they made their bodies and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the least violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with ingratitude and persidy. The Syracusans, who contemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should defeat, and put them all to the sword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the necessity of either fighting the citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, and pointing to the citadel sull of enemies, who saw all that passed with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising great cries, as if they were going

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to fall upon the Syracufans. The latter were difmayed with those appearances, and ran away in every street without being purfued. Dion hastened the march of his

troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracufans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were defirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up with him at the pass of a river, and made their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their infults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again feifed with terror, and taking to their heels in a more shameful manner than before, made all the hafte they could to regain the city.

(x) The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem. They also made presents to his foldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which they fent ambaffadors to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops to the Syracusans, who on their fide fent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracufe was intoxicated with inconfiderate joy and infolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection and judge-

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Every thing conspired to swell and inflame their pride. The citadel was fo much reduced by famine, that the foldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much resolved at last to surrender it. They sent in the night to make that proposal, and were to perform conditions the next morning. But at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypsius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the besieged, appeared with his gallies, and anchored near Arethufa. Plenty fucceeding on a sudden to famine, Nypsius landed his troops, and fummoned an affembly, wherein he made a speech to the foldiers fuitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel,

E 4 (x) Plut. p. 975, 981. Diod. p. 422, 423. that was upon the point of furrendering, was relieved in

this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracufans at the fame time hastened on board their gallies, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They funk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader of authority to command them or counfel, the officers as well as foldiers gave themselves up to rejoicing, feafting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loofe excefs. Nypfius knew well how to take advantage of this general infatuation. He attacked the wall that enclosed the citadel, of which having made himself master, he demolished it in feveral places, and permitted his foldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost confusion. Here, the citizens, half asleep, had their throats cut; their houses were plundered, whilst the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations.

There was but one man, who could remedy this misfortune, and preferve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propose it; so much ashamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increased every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and defpair, a voice was heard from the horse and allies, which faid, That it was absolutely necessary to recall Dion and the Peloponnesian troops from the country of the Leontines. As foon as any body had courage enough to utter those words, they were the general cry of the Syracufans, who with tears of joy and grief made prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of feeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head against the The deputies fet out immediately with full speed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening. As

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As foon as they alighted, they threw themselves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity to which the Syracufans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and feveral of the Peloponnesian foldiers, who had feen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and conceived rightly, from their emotion and prostrate behaviour, that something very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no fooner heard what they had to fay, than he carried them with him to the affembly, which formed itself immediately; for the people ran thither with abundance of eagerness. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatness of their diffress, and "implored the foreign troops to haften to " the relief of the Syracufans, and to forget the ill " treatment they had received; and the rather, because " that unfortunate people had already paid a feverer pe-" nalty for it, than the most injured amongst them would

" defire to impose."

The deputies having finished their discourse, the whole theatre, where the affembly was held, continued fad and filent. Dion rose; but as soon as he began to speak, a torrent of tears suppressed his utterance. The foreign foldiers called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion of his grief. At length, having recovered himself a little, he spoke to them in "Men of Peloponnesus, and you our thefe terms: " allies, I have affembled you here, that you might de-" liberate upon what regards yourfelves; as for my part,. " I must not deliberate upon any thing when Syracuse " is in danger. If I cannot preserve it, I go to perish " with it, and to bury myfeif in its ruins. But for you; " if you are resolved to assist us once more; us, who are " the most imprudent and unfortunate of mankind; " come and relieve the city of Syracuse, from hence-" forth the work of your hands. If not, and the just 4 fubjects of complaint, which you have against the " Syracufans, determine you to abandon them in their " present condition, and to suffer them to perish; may you receive from the immortal gods, the reward you E 5,

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" merit for the affection and fidelity which you have hitherto expressed for me. For the rest, I have only

" to desire, that you will keep Dion in your remem-

" brance, who did not abandon you when unworthily treated by his country, nor his country, when fallen

" into misfortunes."

He had no fooner ceased speaking, when the foreign foldiers rose up with loud cries, and intreated him to lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies, transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to bestow upon Dion and them all kind of happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appeased, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and as soon as they had supped, to return with their arms to the same place, being determined to set out the same night, and sly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time at Syracuse, the officers of Diony-sius, after having done all the mischief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loss of some of their soldiers. This short respite gave the seditious orators new courage, who, flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, exhorted the Syracusans to think no surther of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were instantly dispatched from the general-officers to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to desire him to hasten his march; which difference of sentiments, and contrariety of advices, occasioned his marching slowly, and by small journeys.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seised the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the same instant, Nypsius, well apprised of all that passed in Syracuse, made a sally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They demolished the wall that enclosed them entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but saughter and blood was seen every where. Nor did they

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they stop for the pillage, but seemed to have no other view, than to ruin and destroy all before them. One would have thought, the fon of Dionysius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by an excess of hatred for the Syracufans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it they had recourse to fire, the swiftest of destructions, burning, with torches, and lighted straw, all places within their power, and darting combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans, who fled to avoid the flames, were butchered in the streets, and those, who to shun the all-murdering sword retired into the houses, were driven out of them again by the encroaching fire; for there were abundance of houses burning, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very slames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were dispatched to halten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmost speed, there being no body besides himself to make head against the enemy, he being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined and reduced to ashes.

Dion received this news, when he was about fixty * stadia from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He there detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to re-animate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens, who came running to join him on all sides. He divided them into small parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at

^{*} Two or three leagues.

once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the

enemy.

After having made these dispositions, and prayed to the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy. In every street as he passed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and fongs of victory, mingled with the prayers and bleffings of all the Syracufans; who called Dion their preferver and their god, and his foldiers their brothers and fellow-citizens. At that instant, there was not a fingle man in the city fo fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's fafety than his own, and not to fear much more for him than for all the rest together, feeing him march foremost to so great a danger over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets

and publick places were univerfally covered.

On the other hand, a view of the enemy was no less terrible: for they were animated by rage and despair, and were posted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their fafety and retreat, and durst not remove from it, lest their communication should be cut off. But what was most capable of difordering and discouraging Dion's foldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For wherever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midit of fires; exposing themselves to being crushed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams, and roofs of houses, which tottered half consumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, whilst they opened their way through frightful clouds of fmoke, mingled with duft.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very small number on each fide where capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the uneavenness of the But at length, Dion's foldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardour of the Syracufans, charged the enemy with fuch redoubled vigour, that the troop escap who in th

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troops of Nypsius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near; and those who remained without, being broken, were cut to pieces in the pursuit by the foreign troops.

The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner so great an exploit deserved; the Syracusans being obliged to apply to the preservation of their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire; which however they did

not effect without great difficulty.

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the ops At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city, but all fled self-condemned, to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct: that it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to show himself as much so in that greatness of soul, which could conquer resentment and revenge, and forgive the ungrateful, who owned themselves unworthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplications, Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their vile and malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the foldiers, and in fo doing, exterminate from the state that spirit of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really fomething of madness in it, and is no less to be feared from its pernicious confequences, than tyranny itself. But Dion, to appeale them, said, "That " other captains generally made the means of conquering " their enemies their fole application; that for his part " he had passed much time in the academy, in learning " to subdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of " the mind: that the fign of having conquered them is " not kindness and affability to friends and persons of " merit; but treating those with humanity who have in-" jured us, and in being always ready to forgive them:

"that he did not desire so much to appear superior to "Heraclides in power and ability, as in wisdom and justice;

"justice; for in that, true and essential superiority consists. That if Heraclides be wicked, invidious, and
perfidious, must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself with low resentment? It is true, according to human laws, there seems to be less injustice in revenging
an injury, than committing it; but if we consult nature, we shall find both the one and the other to have
their rise in the same weakness of mind. Besides,
there is no disposition so obdurate and savage, but
may be vanquished by the force of kind usage and
obligations." Dion upon these maxims pardoned
Heraclides.

His next application was to inclose the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracusans to go out and cut a large stake. In the night, he set his soldiers to work, whilst the Syracusans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived; so that in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of the execution were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the

enemy, as the citizens.

Having finished this palifade, he buried the dead; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he summoned an affembly. Heraclides proposed in it, that Dion should be elected generalissimo with supreme authority by sea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens, were pleased with the proposal, and defired it might have the authority of the affembly. But the mariners and artifans, who were forry that Heraclides should lose the office of admiral; and convinced, that although he were little estimable in all other respects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion, they opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid disturbance and confusion, did not insist upon that point, and acquiesced that Heraclides should continue to command in chief at fea. But his oppoling the distribution of lands and houses, which they were earnest for having take place, and his cancelling and annullir

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nulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, em-

broiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himself master of Syracuse, and to shut the gates upon his rival: but it proved unsuccessful. A Spartan, who had been sent to the aid of Syracuse, negotiated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the strictest oaths, and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and

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The Syracufans, having difmissed their sea-forces who were become unnecessary, applied solely to the siege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the belieged, and bread began to fall short with them, the foldiers grew mutinous, and would observe no discipline. Dionyfius, finding himself without hope or resource, capitulated with Dion to furrender the citadel, with all the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and fifters away with him, filled five gallies with his people and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were passionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with so agreeable a spectacle, and to folemnize the joyful day, on which, after fo many years fervitude, the fun arole for the first time upon the Syracufan liberty.

Apollocrates having fet fail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princesses, who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his sister sirst, and afterwards his son. Aristomache then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus: "The tears you see her shed, the shame expressed in her looks, at the time your presence

" restores

"restores us life and joy, her silence itself, and her confusion sufficiently denote the grief she suffers at the
fight of an husband, to whom another has been substituted contrary to her will, but who alone has always
possessed her heart. Shall she salute you as her uncle,
shall she embrace you as her husband?" Aristomache
having spoke in this manner, Dion, with his sace bathed
in tears, tenderly embraced his wise; to whom he gave
his son, and sent them home to his house; because he

thought proper to leave the citadel to the discretion of the Syracusans, as an evidence of their liberty.

For himself, after having rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all those who had contributed to his fuccess, according to their rank and merit, at the height of glory and happiness, and the object not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who esteemed him the wisest and most fortunate captain that ever lived, he constantly retained his original fimplicity; as modest and plain in his garb, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with people bred in armies, with officers and foldiers, who often breathe nothing but pleasures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time Plato wrote to him, That the eyes of all mankind were upon him alone; little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that school of wisdom and virtue, where exploits and succeffes were not judged from the external splendor and noise, with which they are attended, but from the wise and moderate ule of them.

Dion designed to establish a form of government in Syracuse, composed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the Aristocratical was always to prevail, and to decide important affairs by the authority, which, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council of elders. Heraclides again opposed him in this scheme, still turbulent and seditious according to custom, and solely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, caresses, and other popular arts. One day, when Dion sent for him to the council, he answered, that he would not come; and that, being

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only a private person, he should be in the assembly with the rest of the citizens, whenever it was summoned. His view, in such behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated insults, permitted those to kill him, he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his house and dispatched him. We shall see presently Dion's own sense of this action.

The Syracufans were highly afflicted for his death but as Dion folemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and forgave him the murder; convinced, that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, whilst Heraclides and

Dion governed together.

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(y) After that murder Dion never knew joy, or peace An hideous spectre, which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terrour, and melancholy. phantom feemed a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury Iweeping his house with violence. His fon's death, who for some unknown grief had thrown himself from the roof of an house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his misfortunes. Callippus gave the last hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship, whilst he lodged at his house at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and unbounded confidence. Callippus, having given himself up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the facred ties of friendship and hospitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who was the fole obstacle to his defigns. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's fifter and wife, who lost no time, and spared no pains, to difover the truth by a very strict enquiry. To prevent its

⁽y) Plut. p. 981, 983. Diod p. 432.

effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconsolable, that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the great oath, as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapped in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations against himself it is

possible to imagine.

The oath cost him nothing, but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from several hands, as did Dion himself, whose friends in general persuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a just and sudden punishment. But he never could resolve upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as an horrible blot in his reputation and virtue, was perpetually present to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrours his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present his throat himself to whoever would kill him, than to live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assassinated in his own house by the Zacynthian soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The sister and wise of that prince were put into prison, where the latter was delivered of a son, which she resolved to nurse there

herfelf.

(2) After this murder, Callippus was for fome time in a splendid condition, having made himself master of Syracuse by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service in effect of the gifts he bestowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life: and Plutarch observes, that the success

fuccess against tion, the fortune vidence pus soon marched against the after of men, had muchim, be wretched for stinus and tions.

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fuccess of Callippus occasioned very great complaints against the gods, as suffering calmly and without indignation, the vilest of men, to raise himself to so exalted a fortune by fo detestable and impious a method. But Providence was not long without justifying itself, for Callippus foon fuffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catanea, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost abundance of men, and particularly the Zacynthian foldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for fome time a miserable life, he was killed by Leptinus and Polyperchon, and, it was faid, with the fame dagger with which Dion had been affaffinated.

History has few examples of so distinct an attention of Providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, perfidy, treason, either in the authors of those crimes themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. The divine instince evidences itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occasion; but it does not always distinguish the telf by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind, that greater punishments are reserved

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As for Aristomache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Icetes of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, eccived them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most emplary kind had he persevered: but complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and aving put them on board, under the pretence of sending hem to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were a carry them, to kill them in the passage, and to throw hem into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery, for being

taken

taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two sons of

that traitor.

(a) The relations and friends of Dion, foon after his death, had written to Plato, to confult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what fort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracufans were equally incapable of entire liberty, or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as soon as possible; and for that purpose, to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful fovereignty, which would make fubjection easy and agreeable. He advised them (and according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus, Dion's fon; another Hipparinus, Dionysius the Younger's brother, who feemed to be well inclined towards the people; and Dionysius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him; their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the fame scheme, thirty-five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duely observed, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to ferve as a balance between the power of the kings, the fenate, and the people.

It does not appear that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. (b) It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, having landed at Syracuse with a fleet, and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power

two years.

The history of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionysius the Elder, who reigned thirty-eight of them, and continuing to the death of Dion. I shall return in the sequel to the affairs of Sicily, and shall relate the end of Dionysius the Younger, and the re-establishment of the Syracusan liberty by Timoleon.

(a) Plat. Ep. viii. (b) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 436.

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SECT. IV. Character of DION.

TT is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one 1 and the fame person as were united for Dion. I do not consider in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his art of affociating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct, and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment of his leifure: I confine myfelf to the statesman and patriot, and in this view, how admirably does he appear! Greatness of soul, elevation of sentiments, generosity in bestowing his wealth, heroic valour in battle, attended with a coolness of temper, and a prudence scarce to be paralleled, a mind vast and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers, or the most unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his country and of the publick good carried almost to excess: these are part of Dion's virtues. The design he formed of delivering his country from the yoke of the tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, explain of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and if I may fay so, the most above human nature, is the greatness of soul, and unexampled patience, with which he suffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and facrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty: in return for fuch great fervices, they shamefully expel him the city, accompanied with an handful of foreign foldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their base perfidy the most cruel outrages and indignity: to punish those ungrateful traitors he had only a fignal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his foldiers: master of theirs, as well is his own temper, he stops their impetuosity, and with-

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out difarming their hands, restrains their just rage, suffering them in the very height and ardour of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There feems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having fomething rigid and auftere in his humour, that made him lefs accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even persons of worth and his best friends at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory fincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: but notwithstand. ing the reproaches which were made him upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible feverity with which he treated the people, he still piqued himself upon abating nothing of them: whether his genius was entirely averle to the arts of infinuation and perfuafion; or that from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracufans, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaifant discourses of their orators, he chose that rough and manly manner of behaving to them.

Dion was miltaken in the most essential point of govern-From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the * art of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best suit his measures; which cannot be done by affuming the fevere mafter, by commanding haughtily, and contenting one's felf with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible rigour. There is in the right itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice when carried into ex-I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often necessary to foften, and make them more convertible; which is belt effected by a kindness of manners, and an infinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its

* Which art, an ancient poet called, flexanima, atque omnium regime rerum oratio. Cic. 1. i. de Divin. n. 80.

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utmost rigour; overlooking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and observing upon those which are more considerable, with favour and goodness; in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him, contrary to his natural disposition, as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought the trouble and anguish upon him, that lasted to the day of his death; and of which they were the principal cause.

SECT. V. DIONYSIUS the Younger re-ascends the throne-Syracuse implores aid of the Corinthians, who send TIMOLEON. That general enters Syracuse, notwithstanding all the endeavours of NICETAS to prevent him. DIONYSIUS surrenders himself to him, and retires to Corinth.

c) CALLIPPUS, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, id not posses his power long. Thirteen months after, slipparinus, Dionysius's brother, arriving unexpectedly t Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the ity, and recovered his paternal sovereignty, which he ield during two years.

(d) Syracuse and all Sicily, being harrassed by different actions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition, Dionysius, taking the advantage of those troubles, ten ears after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nypeus, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he restated himself in the possession of his dominions.

(e) It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-estaishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he nt statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos of

c) A. M. 3647. Ant. J. C 357. Diod. 1. xvi. p. 432—436. d) A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. (e) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 453. very great value. The gallies which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at that time near (f) Corcyra with a fleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of his facred booty, and was answered, not to examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but to make use of it for the subsistence of his troops. Dionysius complained excessively of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them, wherein he reproached with great warmth and justice their

avarice and facrilegious impiety.

(g) A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religiously in regard to the Romans about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years besieged, they sent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that present were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the * custom to divide all the prizes they took as a common flock. The island at that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timafitheus t, and his behaviour agreed well with the fignification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the facred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majesty of the god for whom it was de figned, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all the marks of distinction, and their expences borne by the publick. Timalitheus convoya them

(f) Corfu. (g) Tit. Liv. Decad. i. l. v. c. 28. Diod. l. it.

implevit; adductosque in publicut hospitium legatos, cum prasisi etiam naviam Delphos prosecuts, Roman inde sospites restituit. Hopitium cum eo senatus consulto dactum, donaque publice data. The Liv.

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* Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio, partam prædam dividere. Fortè eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, & deum cui mitteretur, & doni causum veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, quæ semper serme regenti est similis, religionis juste

⁺ Timasitheus signifies one wi

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them with a good squadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were affected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the senate they rewarded Timasitheus with great presents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And sifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians, with the same gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themselves obliged to do surther honour to the family of their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be for ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both fides: but

the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius, though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his subjects. His past missortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to instance it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

(i) The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Icetas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most declared tyrants, but because they had no other resource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syracusans, arrived in Sicily with a great fleet, and having made a great progress there, the Sicilians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in sayour of liberty. Icetas, who proposed no other end from his command, than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thoughts of setting it free, Vol. V.

⁽i) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 459, & 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236, & 2435

treated fecretly with the Carthaginians, though in publick he affected to praise the wife measures of the Syracusans,

and even fent his deputies along with theirs.

Corinth received the ambahadors perfectly well, and immediately appointed Timoleon their general (k). He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in publick affairs, and was far from believing, that at his age, and in the circumstances he then was, he should be thought of upon such an occasion.

He was descended from one of the noblest families of Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered upon all occasions a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants, and bad men. He was an excellent captain, and as in his youth he had all the maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and courage of the most ardent

youth.

He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and faved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the sharpest assistant He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty; kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours inestectual, and that nothing could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be affassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought, that upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch seems to pass the same judgement upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and some people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother especially, in the excess of

(4) A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

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her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the fight of her son's murderer, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors

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He was then struck with all the horrour of the most guilty, and giving himfelf up to the cruellest remorfe confidered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and resolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment. It was with great difficulty his friends diffuaded him from that fatal resolution. Overcome by their prayers and intreaties, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all publick affairs; and for feveral years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most folitary and defart places, abandoned to excess of grief and melancholy: so true it is, that neither the praises of flatterers, nor the false reasonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of conscience, which is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those who presume to violate the most facred rights and ties of nature.

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived there alwas private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general, but he did not think t allowable to refuse the service of his country, and his

luty prevailed against his inclination.

Whilst Timoleon assembled his troops, and was prearing to fail, the Corinthians received letters from Icetas, which he told them, "that it was not necessary for them to make any further levies, or to exhaust themfelves in great expences to come to Sicily, and expose themselves to evident danger; that the Carthaginians, apprised of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron in its passage with a great fleet; and that their slowness in sending their troops, had obliged him

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"to call in the Carthaginians themselves to his aid, and to make use of them against the tyrant." He had made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated, that after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse,

he should take possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incensed them more than at first, and hastened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board ten gallies, and arrived safe upon the coast of Italy, where the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and discouraged his troops. It brought an account, that Icetas had defeated Dionysius, and having made himself master of the greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant to thut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the Isle, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on shore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have reduced that general to retire.

The Carthaginians in consequence had sent twenty gallies to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, sound ambassadors from Icetas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was entirely injurious, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels, which the Barbarians had caused to advance to intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme distress, which could not avoid being the reward of Icetas's treachery, and of the support which the Carthaginians

should give the tyranny.

In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to discharge himself, and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betray-

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gallie fhips char the (of the ed its interests. The governor and magistrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him. They defired nothing more than to fee the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing fo much as the neighbourhood of the Barbarians. They fummoned therefore an affembly, and thut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying themselves solely to the present affair.

The people being affembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the fame fubject, and repeating the same reasons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. Whilst this was doing, nine of the Corinthian gallies went off, and were suffered to pass by the Carthaginian veffels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city, and that those nine gallies were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Icetas's army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whilper, that his gallies were at fea, he flipped gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the tribunal. He got to the fea-fide, embarked directly, and having re-joined his gallies, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to reinstate the Sicilian liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprised and ashamed of being so deceived: but, as fomebody told them, being Phœnicians (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world) fraud and artifice ought not to give them so much astonishment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Icetas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian gallies advance. They had an hundred and fifty long ships, fifty thousand foot, and three hundred armed The Syracufans loft all hope when they faw chariots. the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Icetas malter of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and

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Timeleon without any other hold in Sicily than by a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand foldiers, and he had scarce provisions for their sublistence. Besides which the cities, placed no confidence in him. The ills they had fuffered from the extortion and cruelty, that had been practifed amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Calippus and Pharax; who being both fent, the one from Athens, and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and desirable, fo severe were the vexations with which they had oppressed them. They were afraid of experiencing the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a fmall city below mount Ætna, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in Icetas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timeleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with five thousand men, and the latter with only twelve hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in diferder, and employed in taking up their quarters, and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time to rest them, as the officers advised him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no fooner faw him, than they took to their heels. This occasioned their killing only three hundred, and taking twice as many prisoners; But the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the fame time, and received Timo-Other cities fent their deputies to him foon after, and made their submission.

Dionysius himself, who renounced his vain hopes, and saw himself at the point of being reduced, as sull of contempt for Icetas, who had suffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon,

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Timoleon, fent ambaffadors to the latter, to treat of furrendering himself and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking the advantage of fo unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus with four hundred foldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day-time, that being impossible, the Carthaginians being mafters of the gate, but in platoons, and by flealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it with all the tyrant's moveables, and provisions of war. For he had a considerable number of horse, all forts of engines and darts, besides seventy thousand suits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money, and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Icetas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon.

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person, and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had feen himself master of the most powerful kingdom that ever had been usurped by tyrants. He had possessed it ten years entire, before Dion took arms against him, and some years after, though always in the midst of wars and battles. (1) He was fent to Corinth with only one galley without convoy, and with very little money. He served there for a fight, every body running to gaze at him; fome with a fecret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man, whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextricable abysis of difrefs, into which they beheld him plunged.

His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any fentiments in regard to him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in persumers shops, in taverns, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them upon the rules of musick, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought, that he behaved in such a

F 4 (1) A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

manner out of policy not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, not to discover any thought or delire of recovering his dominions. But such an opinion does him too much honour, and it seems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he passed his life in the kind of slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

(m) Some writers fay, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth, obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps fays * Cicero, without doubt jestingly, to retain a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding. (n) Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that Dionysius, who had seen himfelf master of Syracuse, and of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the same + Dionysius, reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a school-master, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their for-The Lacedæmonians fome time after gave Philip this admonition. (o) That prince, having written to them in very haughty and menacing terms, they made him no other answer, but Dionysus at Corinth.

An expression of Dionysius which has been preserved, seems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his missortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. (p) Whilst he lived at Corinth, a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an indecent grossness,

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(m) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. 1. iii. n. 27. (n) Val. Max. 1. vi. (o) Demet. Phaler. de Elop. 11. 1. viii. (p) Plut. in Timol p. 243.

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upon his commerce with the philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him by way of insult, Of what consequence all the wisdom of Plato had been to him? Can you believe then, replied he, that I have received no benefit from Plato, and see me bear ill fortune as I do?

SECT. VI. TIMOLEON, after several victories, reflores liberty to Syracuse, where he institutes wise
laws. He quits his authority and passes the rest of
his life in retirement. His death. Honours paid to
his memory.

(q) A FTER the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas pressed the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys fent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, fent them frequently thither. To deprive them of this relief, Icetas and Mago fet out together with defign to befiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian. who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the ramparts, that those who had been left to continue the fiege, were very remifs in their duty, he made a sudden furious fally upon them, whilst they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to flight, and seised the quarter of the city called Achradina, which was the strongest part of it, and had been least injured by the enemy. Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.

This bad news caused Mago and Icetas to return immediately. At the same time a body of troops from Corinth landed safe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them. When they were landed; Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken possession of Mes-

(q) A. M. 3658. Ant J. C. 346. Plut. in Timol. p. 243—248. D.od. 1. xvi. p. 465. and 474.

fina, marched in battle array against Syracuse. His army confifted of only four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to fend emissaries amongst the foldiers that bore arms for Icetas. They represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to labour that Syracuse and all Sicily should be given up to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all Barbarians. That Icetas had only to join Timoleon, and to act in concert with him against the common enemy. Those foldiers, having fpread these infinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent suspicions of his being betrayed; befides which, he had already for fome time fought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the intreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor, and fet fail for Africa, shamefully abandoning

the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with fo much vigour and fuccess, that Icetas's troops were univerfally overthrown and put to flight. Thus by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion in foaring the forts and publick edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of sufpicion, which at first decried, though without foundation, and at length ruined, that great man, he caused proclamation to be made by found of trumpet, that all Syracufans who would come with their tools, might employ themselves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In consequence of which, the Syracusans considering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes to the citadel, which they not only demolished, but the palaces of the tyrants; breaking open their tombs at the fame time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

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Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the fame place from whence, under the tyrants, every day fome bloody edict had iffued, might become the afylum

and bulwark of liberty and innocence.

Timoleon was mafter of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it: for fome having perished in the wars and feditions, and others being fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a defart, and the grass was grown to high in the streets, that horses grafed in them. All the cities in Sicily were almost in the same condition. Timoleon and the Syracufans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to defire that people might be fent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise the country could never recover itself and was besides threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a crofs, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Thole letters being arrived with amballadors from Syracuse, who conjured the Corinthians, to take compassion of their city, and to be a second time the founders of it; the Corinthians did not confider the calamity of that people as an occasion of aggrandifing themselves, and of making themselves masters of the city, according to the maxims of a base and infamous policy, but sending to all the facred games of Greece, and to all publick : flemblies, they caused proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians having abolished the tyranny of Syracufe, and expelled the tyrants, they declared free and independent the Syracufans, and all the people of Sicily, who should return into their own country, and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and just distribution of the lands amongst them. At the same time they dispatched couriers into Asia, and into all the illes, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as foon as possible to Corinth, which

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would provide them vessels, commanders, and a fair convoy to transport them into their country at its own

expences.

Upon this publication Corinth received universal praises, and blessings, as it justly deserved. It was every where proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the Barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here upon the grandeur of so noble and generous an action, the mere relation of it must make the impression that always results from the great and noble; and every body owned, that never conquest or triumph equalled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a disinterestedness.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to ten thousand, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. It was said their number amounted to fixty thousand and upwards, Timoleon distributed the lands amongst them gratis; but sold them the houses, with which he raised a very great sum; leaving it to the discretion of the old inhabitants to redeem their own; and by this means he collected a considerable fund for such of the people as were poor and unable to support either their own necessities or the charges of the war.

The statues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to sale: but first they were cited, and sentenced in the forms of law. One only escaped the rigour of this enquiry, and was preserved; which was Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and governed the people with lenity and justice; for which his memory was still cherished and honoured. If the same scrutiny

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(r) History has preserved another sentence passed also in regard to a statue, but of a very different kind. The fact is curious, and will excuse a digression. Nicon, a champion of * Thasos, had been crowned fourteen hundred times victor in the folemn games of Greece. A manof that merit could not fail of being envied. After hisdeath one of his competitors infulted his statue, and gave it feveral blows; to revenge perhaps those he had formerly received from him it represented. But the statue as if fensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that insulted it, and killed him. The son of him who had been crushed to death, proceeded juridically against the statue, as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. That famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even the inanimate things should be destroyed. which should occasion the death of a man by their fall. The Thafians, conformably to this law, decreed that the statue should be thrown into the sea. But some years after, being afflicted with a great famine, and having confulted the oracle of Delphos, they caused it to be taken out of the fea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuse being raised in a manner from the grave, and people slocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Icetas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts, and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force, surrendered himself. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to

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⁽r) Suidas in Nixov Pausan. 1. vi. p. 364.
* An island in the Ægean Sea.

let all Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of hit.

miliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians: for he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and sole administration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at the same time, he sent them, under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. Those troops brought over several cities from the Barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with considerable sums of money, which were of great service in the support of the war.

(s) About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Afdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of feventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, a thousand transports laden with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing, and though he could raise only six or seven thousand men, so great was the people's terrour, he marched with that small body of troops against the formidable army of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimesus; an account of which may be found in the history of the Carthaginians (t). Timoleon returned to Syracuse amidst shouts of joy and universal applauses.

Syracuse amidst shouts of joy and universal applauses.

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, and formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and soon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all suffer the just punishment their revolt deserved. Icetas, amongst others, with his son, were put to death as tyrants and

(s) Plut. in Timol. p. 248, & 255. (t) Vol. I.

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His wife and daughters, having been fent to Syracuse and presented to the people, were also sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, defigned to avenge Dion their first deliverer by that decree. For it was the fame Icetas, who had caused Arete, Dion's wife, his sister Aristomache, and his fon, an infant, to be thrown into the fea.

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Virtue is feldom or never without envy. cufers fummoned Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges, and having affigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded fureties of him. people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have difpenfed with fo great a man's obferving the usual formalities; which he strongly opposed, giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due courfe. He was accused of malversation during his command of the army. Timoleon, without giving himself the trouble to refute those calumnies, only replied, "That " he thanked the gods, who had heard his prayers, and " that he at length faw the Syracufans enjoy an entire " liberty of faying every thing; a liberty absolutely un-

" known to them under the tyrants, but which it was

" just to confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wife laws, had purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had fo long infefted it, had re-established peace and security universally, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of re-instating themselves. After such glorious actions, which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syracufans had given him the best house in the city in gratitude for his great fervices, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally refided with his wife and children, whom he had fent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the wisdom in resigning every thing to abstract himself entirely also from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however

great and substantial. He shunned the rock on which the greatest men, through an insatiate lust of honours and power are often shipwrecked; that is by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by choosing rather to sink

under, than to lay down the weight of them *.

Timoleon, who knew all the value of † a noble and glorious leisure, acted in a different manner. He paffed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such a numerous people indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always respected and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of land, nor regulation of government, seemed well done, if Timoleon had not been consulted, and put the last hand to it.

His age was tried with a very fensible affliction, which he supported with astonishing patience; it was the loss of sight. That accident, far from lessening him in the confideration and regard of the people, served only to augment them. The Syracusans did not content themselves with paying him frequent visits, they conducted all strangers, both in town and country, to see their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the assembly of the people, they called him in to their assistance, who came thither in a chariot drawn by two horses, which crossed the publick place to the theatre; and in that manner he was introduced into the

was always religiously observed, his domesticks reconducted him cross the theatre, followed by all the citizens beyond the gates with continual shouts of joy and clapping of hands.

affembly amidst the shouts and acciamations of joy of the

whole people. After he had given his opinion, which

He had still greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the procession, which followed his bier, of which the body in ments and the decreed lively also in his decreed was fill man, ever

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^{*} Malunt deficere, quam definere. Quintil. † Otium cum dignitate. Cic.

tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered by every body in honour of his memory, were the noblest ornaments. Those tears were neither the effect of custom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by publick decree, but flowed from a native source, sincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconsolable forrow. A law was also made, that annually for the future, upon the day of his death, the musick and gymnastick games should be celebrated with horse-races in honour of him. But what was still more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracusan people; that whenever Sicily should be engaged in a war with foreigners,

they should fend to Corinth for a general.

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I do not know, that history has any thing more great and accomplished than what it says of Timoleon. I speak not only of his military exploits and the happy success of all his undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristick in them, which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great men of his times, and makes use, upon that occasion, of a very remarkable comparison. fays he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which at the first view may be known to be the works of a master; but some of them denote their having cost abundance of pains and application; whereas in others an eafy and native grace is feen, which adds exceedingly to their value, and amongst the latter, he places the poems of Homer. There is something of this fort occurs, when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Agefilaus with those of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter, there is an ealiness and facility, which distinguish them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune feems to have taken pleasure in seconding. It is Plutarch who still speaks.

But not to mention his military actions; what I admire most in Timoleon, is his warm and disinterested passion for the publick good, and his reserving only for himself the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services;

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his extreme remoteness from ambition and haughtinesse his honourable retirement into the country; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and what is still more uncommon, his aversion for all flattery, and even just praises. When * somebody extolled in his prefence, his wisdom, valour and glory, in having expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but that he thought himself obliged to express his gratitude to the gods, who having decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, had vouchfafed to make choice of him in preference to all others for fo honourable a ministration: for he was fully perfuaded, that all human events are guided and disposed by the secret decrees of divine providence. What a treasure, what a happiness for a state, is fuch a minister!

For the better understanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracufe under Timoleon, with its state under the two Dionysiuses. It is the same city, inhabitants, and people: but how different is it under the different governments we speak of? The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themselves feared, and of depressing their subjects to render them more passive. They were terrible in effect, as they defired to be, but at the fame time detelled and abhorred, and had more to fear from their subjects, than their subjects from them. Timoleon, on the contrary, who looked upon himfelf as the father of the Syracufan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleafure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: and he was remembered amongst them with bleffings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the fame time the wife legislator, to whom they were indebted for those inestimable blessings.

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HISTORY

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PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAP. I.

HIS Book contains principally the History of two very illustrious generals of the Thebans, EPAMINONDAS and PELOPIDAS; the deaths of AGESILAUS, king of Sparta, and of ARTAXERXES MNEMON, king of Persia.

Sect. I. State of Greece from the treaty of Antalcides. The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. They seise by fraud and violence upon the citadel of Thebes. Olynthus surrenders.

(a) HE peace of Antalcides, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian states great matter of discontent and division. In effect of that treaty; the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Boeotia, and to let them enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrifon from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, saw their power extremely augmented by it, and were industrious

(4) A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387. Xenoph, hift, Græc. 1. v. p. 550, 553.

the Mantinæans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as

they had done before.

(b) The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agesilaus, were of quite different characters, and as opposite in their opinions upon the present state of affairs. The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, was for having Sparta, already much exclaimed against for the treaty of Antalcides, suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust delire of extending their dominions. The other, on the contrary, restless, active, and full of great views of ambition and conquest, breathed nothing but war.

(c) At the fame time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very confiderable cities of Macedonia, in respect to Olynthus a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis in Eubœa. (d) Athens, after the victories of Salamin and Marathon, had conquered many places on the fide of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke, as foon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented, in the general affembly of the allies, that Olynthus, fituate in their neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its measures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and Thebans. The affair being taken into confideration, it was unantmoully resolved, that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynchians. It was agreed, that the allied cities should furnish ten thousand troops, with liberty to such as

(b) Diod. 1. xv. p. 341. (c) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. (d) Diod. 1. xv. p. 554, 556.

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383.

defired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli (e) a day for each foot soldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedæmonians, to lose no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with the Ephori, that Phæbidas, his brother, might have the leading of those which were to follow, and to join him soon after. When hearrive in that part of Macedonia, which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for that purpose, seised upon Potidea, a city in the alliance with the Olynthians, which surrendered without making any defence, and began the war against Olynthus, though slowly, as it was necessary for a general to act before his troops were all assembled.

(f) Phæbidas began his march foon after, and being arrived near Thebes, encamped without the walls near the Gymnasium or publick place of exercise. Ifmenius and Leontides, both Polemarchs, that is generals of the army, and supreme magistrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The first, who had engaged Pelopidas in his party, was no friend to the Lacedemonians, nor they to him; because he publickly declared for popular government and liberty. The other on the contrary favoured an oligarchy, and was supported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole interest. I am obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am going to relate, and which was a confequence of it, occasions the important war between the Thebans and Spartans.

This being the state of affairs at Thebes, Leontides applied to Phæbidas, and proposed to him to seise the citadel, called Cadmæa, to expel the adherents of Ismenius, and to give the Lacedæmonians possession of it. He represented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make himself master of Thebes, whilst his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus;

⁽e) Five-pence. (f) A. M. 3622. Ant. J. C. 382. Xenoph. P. 556-558. Plut. in Agefil. p. 608, 609. ld. in Pelop. p. 280. Died. l. 14. p. 341, 342.

that he would thereby facilitate the fuccess of his breather's enterprise; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms against the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel, to supply him with whatever number of horse and foot he should think proper, for the reinforcement of Eudamidas.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little conduct, and who had no other view than to fignalife himfelf by fome extraordinary action, without examining the confequences, fuffered himself to be easily persuaded. Whilst the Thebans, entirely fecured under the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian states, celebrated the feasts of Ceres, and expected nothing less than such an act of hostility. Phæbidas, conducted by Leontides, took possession of the citadel. The senate was then sitting. Leontides went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the Lacedæmonians, who had entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of those, who were for disturbing the publick tranquillity; that as for himself, by the power his office of Polemarch gave him, of confining whoever caballed against the state, he should put Ismenius into a place of security, who factiously endeavoured to break the peace. He was feiled accordingly, and carried to the citadel. The party of Ismenius seeing their chief a prisoner, and apprehending the utmost violence for themselves, quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were foon after banished by a publick decree. Pelopidas was of the number; but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmolested; being difregarded as a man entirely devoted to the study of philosophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of state; and also from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new Polemarch was nominated in the room of Ismenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The news of Phæbidas's enterprise, who at a time of general peace had taken possession of a citadel by force,

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amon which he had no claim or right, had occasioned great murmurings and complaints. Such especially as opposed Agesilaus, who was suspected of having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose orders Phæbidas had committed fo strange a breach of publick faith. Agefilaus, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phæbidas, and declared openly and before all the world, " That " the action ought to be confidered in itself, in order to " understand whether it was useful or not; that whatever " was expedient for Sparta, he was not only permitted, " but commanded to act upon his own authority, and " without waiting the orders of any body." Strange principles to be advanced by a person, who upon other occasions had maintained, That justice was the supreme of virtues, and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useless and unavailing. It is the fame man that made answer, when somebody in his prefence magnified the king of Persia's grandeur; He, whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than me, unless he be more just? A truly noble and admirable maxim, THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHAT-EVER EXCELS AND IS GREAT! But a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a state man ought always to have justice in his mouth, but never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the fentence, which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wisdom of its counsels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the whole discussed at large, and the manner of it set in its sull light, the assembly resolved, that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined an hundred thousand drachmas (g); but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garrison in it. What a strange

(g) About 2020 pound flerling.

strange contradiction was this! says Polybius (h); what difregard of all justice and reason! to punish the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by the publick authority, and continue it in the name of the state for the advantages arising from it! But this was not all; commissioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were dispatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Ismenius, upon whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such flagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither for one's

country's interest, nor one's own.

(i) Teleutias, Agesilaus's brother, had been substituted in the place of Phæbidas to command the rest of the troops of the allies designed against Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was frong, and furnished with every thing necessary to a good defence. Several fallies were made with great fuccefs, in one of which Teleutias was killed. The next year king Agesipolis had the command of the army. The campaign passed in skirmishing; without any thing decisive. Agefipolis died foon after of a difeafe, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who reigned nine years (k). About that time began the hundredth Olympiad. Sparta made fresh efforts to terminate the war with the Olyn-Polibidas their general pressed the siege with thians. The place being in want of provisions was at last obliged to surrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

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⁽b) Lib. iv. p. 196. (i) Xenoph. 1. v. p. 559-565. Diod. 4 xv. p. 342, 343. (k) A. M. 3624. Ant. J. C. 380.

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SECT.

SECT. II. Sparta's prosperity. Character of two illustrious Thebans, EPAMINONDAS and PELOPIDAS. The latter forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country. Conspiracy against the tyrants wisely conducted, and happily executed. The citadel is retaken.

THE fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with greater splendour, nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that of all They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependence. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almost to their own strength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city, or people in their alliance, attempted to abstract themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, mafters by fea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Perlia and the tyrant of Sicily, feemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.

A prosperity, founded in injustice, can be of no long duration. The greatest blows that were given the Spartan-power, came from the quarter where they had acted the highest injuries, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to fear, that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason

deserve our notice in this place.

(m) These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas; both defeended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and whilst young, sole heir of a very rich and slourishing family, employed his Vol. V.

⁽¹⁾ Xeneph. p. 565. Diod. p. 324. (m) Plut. in Pelop. p. 279.

wealth from the first possession of it in the relief of such as had occasion for it, and merited his favour; showing in that wife use of his riches, that he was really their master. For according to Aristotle's remark, and not their flave. repeated by Plutarch*, most men make either no use at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuse them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost fay his joy and delight, confisted. He was born of poor parents, and confequently familiarifed from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and eafy to him by his tafte for philosophy. Pelopidas, who supported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make use of his fortune, refolved to share in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modely of his drefs, and the frugality of his table.

(n) If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, those of the head and heart made him a most ample amends. Modest, prudent, grave, happy in improving occasions, possessing in a supreme degree the science of war, equally valiant and wise, easy and complaisant in the commerce of the world, suffering with incredible patience the people's, and even his friends ill treatment, uniting with the ardour for military exercises, a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, piquing himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity, that he made a scruple of telling a lye even in jest, or for diversion. Adea

veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.

(a) They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leisure, the one in the palæstra and the chase, the other in conversation and the study of philosophy.

But

(n) Cor. Nep. in Epam. c. iii. (o) l'lut. in Pelop. p. 279.
 *Τῶν πολλῶν, οἱ μεν & χρῶνθαι τῷ πλέτω διὰ μικρολογίαν, οἱ δε παραχρῶνθαι διὰ ἀσωτίαν.

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But what persons of sense and judgement must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendthip, that always fublished between them during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the publick affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, diffension, and debate. The two friends we speak of held the first offices in the state; all great affairs paffed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In fuch delicate conjunctures what occasions of pique and jealoufy generally arise? But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good understanding. The reason of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue; which in all their actions, fays Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal. fources of strife and division, in view, but folely the publick good, and made them defire not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such are the two illustrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events, in which they have a principal share.

(p) Leontides, being apprifed that the exiles had, retired to Athens, where they had been well received by the people, and were in great esteem with all people of worth and honour, sent thither certain unknown perfons to assassing the most considerable of them. Only Androclides was killed, all the rest escaping the contrivances of Leontides.

At the fame time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or affifting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as they were G 2 declared

⁽p) A. M. 3626. Ant. J. C. 378. Xenoph. hift. Gr. l. v. p. 566—568. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280—284. Id. de Socrat. gen. p. 586—588, & 594—598. Diod. l. xv. p. 344—346. Cor. Nep. in Pelop. c. i—iv.

declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horrour. They were transported with the occasion of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature. For the Thebans had contributed most to the re-establishment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their favour by a publick decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes, Thracibulus set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to them, "That it was unworthy of honest men, to content themselves with having saved their own lives, and to look with indifference upon their country, enslaved and miserable: that whatever good-will the people of Athens might express for them, it was not fit that they should fusfier their sate to depend upon the decrees of a people, which their natural inconstancy, and the malignity of orators that turned them any way at will, might soon alter: that it was necessary to hazard every thing, after the example of Thrasybulus, and to set before

" model: that as he set out from Thebes to suppress and destroy the tyrants of Athens, so they might go from

" them his intrepid valour and generous fortitude as a

" Athens to restore Thebes its ancient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the exiles that could be expected. They sent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons of the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archidas and Philip, who were then Polemarchs, or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans by his discourse with a passonate

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fionate desire to throw off the Spartan yoke. (q) He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected, but he believed, that he ought not to have any share in it, because, as he said, he could not resolve to imbrew his hands in the blood of his country, foreseeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprise, however lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone; and convinced besides, that a citizen, who should not appear to have taken either party, would have it in his power to influence the people with the better effect.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conspirators, should stop at Thriasium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a fmall number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themselves for this bold enterprife. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and dispatched a messenger to Charon, to give him notice of their coming, they fet out drefled in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands, for pitching of nets; that fuch as they met on the way might have no suspicion of them, and take them only for hunters, that had wandered after their game.

Their messenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon, that they were set out, the approach of danger did not alter his sentiments, and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared his house for their

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One of the conspirators, who was no bad man, loved his country, and would have served the exiles with all his power, but had neither the resolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprise, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obstacles, that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination; much disordered with

⁽q) Plut. de gen. Socrat. p. 594.

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the prospect of danger, this person retired into his house without saying any thing, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to desire them to deser their enterprise, and return to Athens till a more sayourable opportunity. Happily, that friend, not finding his horse's bridle, and losing a great deal of time in quarrell-

ing with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peasants, and having separated from each other, entered the city at different gates towards the close of day. It was then early in the winter, the north wind blew, and the snow fell; which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; besides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the secret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole number amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, fecretary to the * Boeotarchs, who was in the plot, had some time before invited Archias and his companions to supper, promifing them an exquisite repalt, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they sat They had been free with the glass, and down to table. were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without showing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias however sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to set out, and had put on their armour and fwords, when on a fudden they heard a knocking at the door. Somebody went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately, he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded, that the conspi-

terebs, that is to fay, commanders or governors of Bæotia.

^{*} The magistrates and generals, who were charged with the government of Thebes, were called Bæo-

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racy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon should obey the order, and present himself with an air of assurance to the magistrates, as void of sear, and unconscious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatened only himself; but at that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending also, that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house, should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and setched his only son of fisteen years old at most, who in beauty and strength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, saying at the same time, "If you discover that I have betrayed you, and have been guilty of treachery upon this occasion, revenge yourselves on me in this my only son, whom, as dear as he is to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a victim without

" mercy to his father's perfidy." These expressions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the most fensible pain, was his imagining there was any one amongst them so mean and ungrateful to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to They conjured him unanimously, not to leave his fon with them, but to put him into fome place of fafety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he should be so fortunate to escape the tyrants. " No," replied the father, " he shall stay with you, " and share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler " end can he make, than with his father and best friends? " For you, my fon, exert yourfelf beyond your years, " and show a courage worthy of you and me. You see " here the most excellent of the Thebans. Make under " fuch masters a noble essay of glory, and learn to fight; " or if it must be so, to die, like them, for liberty. For

" the rest, I am not without hopes, for I believe, that the justice of our cause will draw down the favour and

"protection of the gods upon us." He concluded with

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a prayer

a prayer for them, and after embracing the conspirators went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to compose his looks and voice, that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the house where the feast was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and asked the meaning of a report, that difaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house. He seemed astonished, and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information of any thing, he affumed a bolder tone, and faid, " It is very likely the report you speak of is only a " falfe alarm, intended to interrupt your mirth: however, as it ought not to be neglected, I'll go immedi-" ately and make the strictest enquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promifed them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all prepared, not to conquer or to fave their lives, but to die gloriously, and to fell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which, they had no thoughts but of the instant execution of a design, to which the least delay might

occasion a thousand obstacles.

In effect, at that very instant, happened a second storm, far more violent than the first, and which seemed as if it could not possibly fail of making the enterprise miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great haste with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. The courier was brought first to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleasure and the bottle. In giving him his dispatches, he said, "My lord, the person who writes you these letters, conjures you to read them immediately, being serious affairs," Archias replied

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replied laughing, * Serious affairs to-morrow, which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under this pillow,

and continued the conversation and debauch.

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The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. These had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment where the feast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in till the fervants were all difmiffed, which was done immediately. They were fent to neighbouring houses, where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered fword in hand, and showing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the fword, and with them the magistrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more relistance. Leontides, who was alleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and rising immediately armed himself with his sword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet, but was at last killed himself.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with to much dispatch and success, couriers were immediately dispatched to Thriasium. The doors of the prisons were broke open, and five hundred prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to refume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The spoils affixed to the portico's were taken down, and the armourers and cutlers shops broke open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with some old persons of great estimation, whom they got together.

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^{*} Ούκθν είς αυριον, έφη, τα σπεδαία.

⁺ The Greeks eat lying on beds.

The whole city was in great terrour and confusion; the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people in a consternation at what had happened, and for want of fufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their deftiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great errour in not falling upon them during their diforder; for the garrifon confifted of fifteen hundred men, besides three thousand, who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they faw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, after having fent couriers to Sparta with the news of what had happened, and to demand an immediate re-inforcement.

The next day at fun-rife the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were fummoned to affemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, furrounded with all the facrificers, carrying in their hands the facred bandages and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to affift their country, and to join with their gods. At this fight, the whole affembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conspirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon, were elected Boco-

tarchs. Soon after the exiles, arrived five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Those troops, with others which joined them from all the cities of Bœotia, composed an army of twelve thousand foot, and as many horfe, and without loss of time belieged the citadel, that it might be taken before relief could come from Sparta.

The belieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than furrender the place; at least, the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion: but they were not the greatest number of the garrison. When provisions began to fall short, and

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famine to press them, the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to furrender. The garrifon had their lives granted them, and were permitted to retire whither they They were fcarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition, might have faved the citadel. But this was not the first time the natural slowness of the Lacedæmonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their enterprifes. The three commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were punithed with death, and the third had fo great a fine laid upon him, that not being able to pay it, he banished himself from Poloponnesus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable that ever was executed by surprise and flratagem. Plutarch, with reason, compares it to that of Thrafybulus. Both exiles, destitute in themselves of all refource, and reduced to implore a foreign support, form the bold defign of attacking a formidable power with an handful of men; and overcoming all obstacles to their enterprise folely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thrafybulus for that fudden and happy change, which freeing them from the oppression they grouned under, not only restored their liberty, but with it their ancient splendour, and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta tremble in their turn. We shall see in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire by fea and land, was the work of this fingle night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortress, and entering only one of twelve into a private house, * unloosed and broke the chains imposed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other, flates of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to to produce such an effect.

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SECT. III. SPHODRIAS the Lacedæmonian forms a defign against the Piræeus without success. The Athenians declare for the Thebans. Skirmishes between the latter and the Lacedæmonians.

(r) THE Lacedæmonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprise of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themselves in earnest to their revenge. Agesilaus, rightly judging an expedition of that kind, of which the end was to support tyrants, would not resect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded king Agesipolis; under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Bæotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country; after which, the king retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Thespiæ, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedæmonians, and were asraid of the consequences, in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them, repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Those, who persisted to adhere to the Theban party, were some imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate; not having any alliance to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of them, and were studious of finding means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians; and this was the strata-

gem they contrived.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Thespiæ with a body of troops to receive and protect such of the Bœotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired some reputation amongst the soldiery, and wanted neither cour

(r) A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Xenoph. l. v. p. 568-572. Plut in Agef. p. 609, 610. Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

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rage nor ambition; but he was rash, superficial, full of himself, and consequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas sent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himfelf, of a confiderable fum of money, and with infinuations still more agreeable to him than money, as they flattered his vanity. " After having represented to him, that one " of his merit and reputation ought to form fome great " enterprise to immortalise his name; he proposed to " him the feifing of the Pirzeus by furprife, when the " Athenians had no expectation of fuch an attempt: he " added, that nothing could be more grateful to the "Lacedæmonians, than to fee themselves masters of " Athens; and that the Thebans, enraged at the Athe-" nians, whom they confidered as traitors and deferters, " would lend them no affiftance."

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envying the glory of Phæbidas, who, in his fense, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more shining and glorious exploit to seise the Piræeus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at sea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook the enterprise therefore with great joy; which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of Cadmea, but not executed with the same boldness and success. For having set out in the night from Thespiæ, with the view of surprising the Piræeus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thriasium near Eleusis, and finding himself discovered he returned shamefully to Thespiæ with some booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately fent ambassadors with their complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was asraid to obey that summons, having just reason to apprehend the issue of a tryal, and the resentment of his country. He had a son, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship with the

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fon of Agesilaus. The latter solicited his father so earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunity and perseverance, that he could not resuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully absolved. Agesilaus was little delicate, as we have seen already, in point of justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was besides, of all mankind, the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick amongst them; and that having been surprised by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till he himself was a father.

(s) The unjust sentence passed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incenfed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to affift them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, son of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well fustained by his own valour and exploits. It was he whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painted fleeping, with the goddess Fortune at his feet, taking towns in nets for him (t): but upon this occasion he proved that he was not alleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the ifle of Corcyra (u), which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their fide made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy fituation between Sicily and Greece rendered that island very important. They therefore engaged Dionyfius the tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they dispatched their fleet under Mnasippus. The Athenians sent fixty sail against them to the relief of Corcyra, under Timotheus at first;

⁽s) Xenoph. 1. v. p. 584-589. Plut. in Agef. p. 610, 611. ld. in Pelop. p. 285-288. (1) Plut. in Syl. p. 454. (1) Co fu.

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but foon after, upon his feeming to act too flowly, Iphicrates was fubstituted in his place. Mnasippus having made himself odious to his troops by his haughtiness, rigour, and avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice, that the Syracusan squadron of ten gallies approached, which he attacked so successfully, that not one of them escaped. He demanded, that the orator Callistratus, and Chabrias, one of the most renowned captains of his time, should be joined in commission with him. Xenophon admires his wisdom and greatness of soul upon that account, in being satisfied with appearing to have occasion for counsel, and not apprehending to share the glory of his victories with others.

Agefilaus had been prevailed upon to take upon him. the command of the troops against Thebes. He entered Bocotia, where he did abundance of damage to the Thebans, not without confiderable loss on his own fide. The two armies came every day to blows, and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in skirmishes which served to instruct the Thebans in the trade of war, and to inspire them with valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported that the Spartan Antalcides told Agefilaus very juftly upon this head, when he was brought back from Boeotia much wounded, My lord Agefilaus, you have a fine reward for the lessons you have given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught it them, they neither would nor could learn. It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws which he calls Rhetra, forbad the Lacedæmonians to make war often upon the tame enemy, left they should make them too good foldiers, by obliging them to the frequent defence of themfelves.

Several campaigns passed in this manner without any thing decisive on either side. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their soldiers time to inure and embolden themselves.

When

When the occasion was favourable, they let them loose like generous hounds, and after having given them a taste of victory by way of reward, they called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. principal glory of their fuccess and this wife conduct was

due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprise against Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedæmonians, at his return he found the enemy posted to intercept him near Tegyra. As soon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, fomebody ran in all hafte to Pelopidas, and told him, We are fallen into the enemy's hands. Ah! replied he, why should we not rather say, that they are fallen into ours! At the same time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear-guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was affured, that his foot, which were only three hundred men, and were called the facred battalion, would break through the enemy, wherever they charged, though superior in number, as they were by at least two thirds. The affault began where the generals of each party were posted, and was very rude. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were prefently killed; all that were with them being either flain or dispersed. The rest of the Lacedæmonian troops were so daunted, that they opened a passage for the Thebans, who might have marched on to fave themselves if they had thought fit; but Pelopidas, difdaining to make use of that opening for his retreat, advanced against those who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a slaughter of them, that they were all difmayed, and fled in diforder. The Thebans did not purfue them far, lest they should be furprifed. They contented themselves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat not inferior to a victory, because through the enemy, dilperfed and defeated. This

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This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the fource of the great actions and events we are about to treat of. It had never happened till then in any war, either against the Barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been deseated with the superiority of number on their side, nor even with equal forces in battle array. For which reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durst show themselves in the field before them, unless superiour in number. They now lost that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terrour and dread even of those, who had rendered themselves so universally formidable.

The enterprise of Artaxerxes Mnemon against Egypt, and the death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, should naturally come in here. (x) But I shall defer those articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban affairs.

SECT. IV. New troubles in Greece. The Lacedæmonians declare war against Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the battle of Leucira. Epaminon-DAS ravages Laconia, and marches to the gates of Sparta.

(y) WHILST the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles arose in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Platæa (z) and afterwards Thespiæ, entirely demolished those cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Platæans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmost favour, and adopted into the number of the citizens.

(a) Artaxerxes, being informed of the state of the Grecian affairs, sent a new embassy thither to persuade the several cities and republicks at war to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcides. By that peace, as has been observed

(x) A. M. 3627, Ant. J. C. 377. (y) A. M. 3633. Ant J. C. 371. Diod. l. li. p. 361, 362. (z) Platæa, a city of Bæctia. Thefpiæ of Achaia. (a) Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. vi. p. 590—593. Dion. p. 365.

observed in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedæmonians, pressed the Thebans to restore their liberty to all the cities of Boeotia, to rebuild Platzea and Theipiz which they had demolished, and to restore them with their dependences to their ancient inhabitants. The The. bans on their fide infifted alfo, that the Lacedæmonians should give liberty to all those of Laconia, and that the city of Messene should be restored to its ancient posses-This was what equity required; but the Lacedamonians, believing themselves much superior to the Thebans, were for impoling a law upon them, which

they would not fubmit to themselves.

All Greece being weary of a war, which had already lasted several campaigns and had no other cause but the Spartan ambition and injustice, nor any end than the aggrandifing of that state, was feriously intent upon a general peace, and, with that view, had fent deputies to Lacedæmon, to concert together the means of attaining fo defirable an effect. (b) Amongst those deputies Epaminondas was of the first rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy; but he had not yet given any very distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the administration of publick affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus, who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of two imperious a power on one lide, and two fervile a fubmission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a wife and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view but the publick good. He made a speech, not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power of Sparta, whillt the rest of Greece was reduced, and ruined by it. He infifted principally upon the necessity of establishing the peace in equality and justice, because no peace could be folid,

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A discourse like this, founded evidently upon reason and justice, and pronounced with a grave and ferious tone, never fails of making impression. Agesilaus plainly diffinguished, from the attention and filence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Bæstia should be free and independent? that is to fay, whether he agreed, that the cities of Boeotia should depend no longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately asked in his turn with great vivacity, Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Laconia should enjoy the same independence and liberty? Upon which Agesilaus, rifing from his feat in great rage, infifted upon his declaring plainly, Whether he would confent that Baotia should be free? Epaminondas retorted his question again, and asked, Whether, on his side, he would consent that Laconia should be free? Agefilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, struck them directly out of the treaty of alliance, which they were about to conclude. The rest of the allies signed it, less out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whose power they dreaded.

(c) In consequence of this treaty, all troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republick's resolutions. Prothous, one of the principal senators, represented, that there was no room for deliberations, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, has made the recall of the troops indispensible. Agesilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge, and the present

(c) Xenoph. 1. vi. p. 593—597. Diod. 1. xv. p. 365—371. Plut. in Agefil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

feemed most favourable, when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded the treaty of The advice of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, * who treated him as an honest, well-meaning dotard, that knew nothing of the matter; the Divinity, from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfall. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops, and fent orders at the same time to all their allies to assemble their forces, who were very averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contradicting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy consequences could be expected from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of refentment and revenge; the Lacedæmonians however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

(d) The Thebans were much alarmed at first. faw themselves alone, without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly loft; not knowing that in a fingle man they had more than armies. was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had feveral colleagues joined in commission with him. immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his His army did not amount to fix thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As feveral bad omens were told him to prevent his fetting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the fense is, + There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country. However, to re-affure the foldiers, by nature fuperstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his favour, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas

(d) A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

* Eurivor mir phuageir nyngalo + Eigolwrog agig , auwierbaimel nan yag og doine to daiuorior nyer. margn: Iliad xi. v. 423.

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Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded the facred battalion. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a stood of tears to take care of himself; That, said he, should be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occasion for such advice; the care of

others should be recommended to them.

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Epaminondas had wifely taken care to fecure a pass. by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march confiderably. The latter after having taken a large compals, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Bœotia, between Platæa and Thespiæ. Both parties consulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with fuch a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he fecretly favoured the Thebans. The latter had an effential reason for haltening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. However, the fix generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their fentiments. The feventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three, that were for fighting, and his opinion carrying the question, the battle was refolved upon. This was in the second year of the 102d Olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been faid, confifted of twenty-four thousand foot, and fixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only fix thousand foot and four hundred horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience of the war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian cavalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill-disciplined, was as much inferior to their enemies in courage, as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and were besides distatissied

with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either fide supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of the sacred battalion, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotes was upon the right, confifting of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, Agesilaus's son, was at the head of the allies, who

formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who refolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. The facred battalion was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the farther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his flank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of referved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was affured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian Phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them after the enemy's example in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they

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out into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell apon his Phalanx with all the weight of his heavy bat-The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to furround him. Pelopidas, upon the fight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness at the head of the facred battalion to prevent the enemy's design, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that fuddden and unexpected attack, was put into diforder. The battle was very rude and obstinate, and whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspence, When he fell dead with and declared for neither party. his wounds, the Thebans, to complete the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great laughter enfued on both fides. The Spartans fought with fo much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by fo dorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved fuccessful, had the allies feconded their ardour. But the left wing feeing the Lacedæmonian phalanx had been broke, and believng all loft, especially when they heard that the king was ead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army long with them. Epaminondas followed them vigobufly, and killed a great number in the purfuit. Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received fuch a blow. The most bloody defeats till then had scarce ever cost them more than sour or sive hundred of their citizens. They had been seen, however animated, or rather violently incensed against Athens, to ransom, by a truce of thirty eight years, eight hundred of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be shut up in the little island of sphacteria. Here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians, and sour hundred

Spartans,

Spartans*, out of feven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were few of their citizens.

The city of Sparta celebrated at that time the gymnaftick games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their deseat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the seltival. They sent to every family the names of their relations, who were killed, and stayed in the theatre to see that the dances and games were continued without

interruption to the end.

The next day in the morning the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle, met in the publick place, and faluted and embraced each other with great joy and ferenity in their looks: whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses, or if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a fadness and dejection of aspect, which senfibly expressed their profound anguish and affliction. That difference was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, filence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their fons; but fuch as had loft their fons were feen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied, but fuch fentiments argue great courage and refolution: but I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased, had there been less of t ferocity in them.

Sparta was under no small difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families

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^{*} Those were properly called Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; the Lacedamonians were settled in the country.

⁺ Mr. Rollin feems to speak betten François. The sentiments of the Spartans have no exception, and are Arietly consistent with true greaters.

in the city, it was not fafe to inflict upon them the punishments affigned by the laws, left their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution fatal to the flate. For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a difgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to fuffer. They were befides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. lattly, they were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great lofs to the Spartans to be deprived of fo many of their foldiery, at a time they had fuch pressing occasion for them. To remove the difficulty, they chose Agesilaus legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agefilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to fave the fugitives without prejudice to the state. In a full affembly of the Lacedæmonians, he decreed, That for the present day the laws should be suspended, and of no effect; but ever after to remain in full force and authority. By those few words he preferved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time restored to the state that great number of its members, in preventing their being for ever degraded, and confequently ufeless to the republick.

(e) After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were industriously employed, the one in retrieving, and the

other in improving their victory.

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(f) Agefilaus, to revive the courage of his troops, marched them into Arcadia; but with a full refolution, carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himself to attacking some small towns of the Mantinæans, which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave Sparta VOL. V. iome

> (e) Xenoph. 1. vi. p. 598. Diod. 1. xv. p. 375-378. (f) Plut, in Agesth. p. 613. 615. Id. in Pelop. p. 290.

that the next glory and good fortune no country. That and themselves are

of foul. None but slaves will deny is to die in its defence. Slaves bave to defending their country against its the tyrants. enemies, when its ruin is at Stake,

Some joy, and they began to take courage from believing

their condition not entirely desperate.

The Thebans, foon after their victory, fent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the fame time against the common enemy. The senate was then sitting, which received the courier with great coldness, did not make him the usual presents, and dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the considerable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not dissemble the umbrage and distaitsfaction which so sudden and unexpected an increase of a neighbouring power gave them, which might soon render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Boeotia. Having affembled all the troops of the Poeotians and their allies, whose number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus, and made abundance of places and people revolt from the Lacedæmonians; Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the greatest part of Laconia itself. It was then about the winterfolflice, and towards the end of the last month of the year, fo that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the first day of the next month being assigned by law, for their refigning them to the persons appointed to succeed them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that Their colleagues, apprehending the badness of the feafon, and more, the dreadful confequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas was the first, who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's alarm, and to purfue their enterprise in neglect of a formality, from the observance of which they might auftly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself, as the fervice of the state, when founded in justice, is the sovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, of which the twelfth part were not Thebans. The great reputation of the

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hin de its two generals was the cause that all the allies, even without order or publick decree, obeyed them with respectful silence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was six hundred years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time they had never seen an enemy upon their lands; none daring till then to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river Eurotas, without any opposition whatsoever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Is scholars the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible, with his small body of troops to support the enemy's attack, and thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men, who were of age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. With these devoting himself, after the example of Leonidas, to the publick good, they sold their lives dear; and after having detended themselves a long time, and made great slaughter

of their enemies, they all perished to a man.

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Agefilaus acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous to oppose, whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and after some ravages subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle, and all the most important parts of the city, strongly securing all the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out and defend his country, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, in kindling the war.

Ha

But far greater afflictions to Agefilaus were the commotions and diforders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the highest affliction and despair from being witnesses of what they faw, as well as of the women, who seemed quite distracted with hearing the threatning cries of the enemy, and feeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilit the flames and Imoke, which drove almost upon them, seemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. courage Agefilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being fenfibly affected with so mournful an object, to which was added, the grief of losing his reputation; who, having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now faw it fallen to fuch a degree, and all its ancient glory loft under him! He was, besides, secrety mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made, That no woman of Sparta had ever feen the Imoke of an enemy's camp.

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had feised an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither, and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with their bad design, he said to them, Comrades, it is not there I sent you. At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them: to which they went, believing their enterprise had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great presence of mind in Agesilaus, and shows, that in times of trouble it is not proper to see too much, that the culpable may not want time to reslect and repent. He thought it more adviseable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous enquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swoln by the melting of the snows, and the Thebans sound more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of

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the Spartans showed him to Agesilaus; who, after having attentively confidered and followed him with his eyes a long time, faid only, * Wonderful man! in admiration of the valour that could undertake fuch great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city, and not being able to induce Agefilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have defended itself long against a victorious army. But the wife captain, who commanded it, apprehended, that he should draw upon his hands the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, that he should excite the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying fo potent a republick, and pulling out, as Leptinus fays, one of the eyes of Greece, as a proof of his skill (g). confined himself therefore to the glory of having humbledthe proud, whose laconick language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of enlarging their ftile, and lengthening their + monofyllables. return he again wasted the country.

(h) In this expedition the Thebans re-instated Arcadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it ‡ very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece. Its ancient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country, natural to all men, and almost

(g) Arist: Rhet. 1, iii. c. 10.

Ω τῦ μεγαλιπιαγιον α΄ - θιώπε. The Greek expression is not easy to be translated, It signifies, Oh the actor of great deeds!

t The Lacedæmonians sometimes answered the most important disparches by a single monosyllable. Philip having wrote to them, If I

(b) Pauf. 1. iv. p. 267, 268.

enter your country, I shall put all to fire and sword, they replied, Is; to signify they should take all possible care to put it out of his power.

t The Messenians had been driven out of their country two hundred and eighty-seven years,

as much as by their hatred of the Spartans, which the length of time had only increased. They built themfelves a city, which, from the ancient name, was called Messen. Amongst the bad events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more sensible displeasure, or rather more lively grief; because from immemorial time an irreconcileable enmity had subsisted between Sparta and Messen, which seemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

(i) Polybius reflects upon an ancient errour in the conduct of the Messenians with regard to Sparta, which was the cause of all their misfortunes. This was their too great follicitude for the present tranquillity, and through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it fure and lasting. Two of the most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians. The latter, from their first settlement in the country, had declared open war against them: the others, on the contrary, always joined with them, and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians had neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcileable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two states were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, little provident for the future, and regarding only their prefent repose, made it a rule with them never to engage in the quarrel on either side, and to observe an exact neutrality. On such conjunctures they congratulated themselves upon their wisdom and fuccess in preferving their tranquillity, whilst their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confusion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedæmonians, having fubdued their encmis, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unsupported by allies, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduced them to submit, either to the yoke of a rigid flavery, or to banish themselves from their

(i) Polyb. 1. iv. p. 239, 300.

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their country. And this was feveral times their cafe. They ought to have reflected, fays Polybius*, that as there is nothing more defirable or advantageous than peace, when founded in justice and honour; fo there is nothing more shameful, and at the same time more pernicious, when attained by bad measures, and purchased at the price of liberty.

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SECT. V. The two Theban generals, at their return, are accused, and absolved. Sparta implores aid of the Athenians. The Greeks send ambassadors to ARTA-XERXES. Credit of PELOPIDAS at the court of Persia.

I T might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after such memorable actions, should have been received with the general applause, and all the honours that could be conferred upon them. Instead of which, they were both summoned to answer as criminals against the state; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to resign their command to new officers, retained it four months beyond the appointed term; during which they had executed in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all those great things we have related.

A behaviour of this kind is furprifing, and the relation of it cannot be read without a fecret indignation: but such a conduct had a very plausible foundation. The zealous affertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehensive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorising some suture magistrate to maintain himself in command beyond the established term, and in consequence to turn his arms against his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the same manner; and if they were so severe, to put an officer to death, though victorious, for giving battle without his H 4 general's

^{*} Εἰρήνη γὰς, μετὰ μέν τε τὰ δε κακίὰς ἢ δελείας ἰπονειδικάιε κὰ πρέποιντΦ, καλλισόν δίσε, πάντων αἰσχισον κὰ βλαἐτι κτῆμα κὰ λυσιτιλές ατον μα Εερώταρον.

general's orders, how would they have behaved to a general, who should have continued four months in the supreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his

own authority?

(k) Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal. He defended himself with less force and greatness of mind than was expected from a man of his character, by nature warm and fiery. . That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forfook him before the judges. His air and difcourfe, which had fomething timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared, and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He seemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyrick upon his actions, and repeated in a lofty stile, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body. He concluded with faying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his tryal, as he used to return from battle, with glory and univerfal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner feifes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature designed for great actions, and every thing he did had an air of grandeur in it. (1) His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with design to affront him, got him elected Telearch; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that * the office did not only show the man, but the man the office. He accordingly raised that employment to

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⁽k) Plut. de sui laude, p. 540. (1) Piut. de præcept. mip. get. p. 811.

[•] Ου μόνον άξχις άνδεα δείκνυσιν, άλλα νζ άξχην άνης.

very great dignity, which before confifted in only taking care that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and common-sewers in good order.

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(m) The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to fear from an enemy, whom the late fuccesses had rendered fill more haughty and enterprifing than ever, and feeing themselves exposed every moment to a new irruption, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke, began with describing in the most pathetick terms the deplorable condition, and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the infolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the empire of all Greece. He insinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times, in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta had preserved Greece to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with faying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its ancient friend and ally, which more than once had generously facrificed itlelf for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse, but at the same time they had not forgot the bad treatment which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the defeat of Sicily. However, their compassion of the present missortunes of Sparta carried it against the sense of the former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedamonians with all their forces. (n) Some time after, the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league and confederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the king of Persia, who continually

made inflances for its execution.

(m) Xenoph. 1. vi. p. 609—613. (a) Ibid. 1. vi. p. 613—616.

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(0) A flight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raised them from the dejection of spirit in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal diffemper the least glimpse of a recovery enlivens hope, and recalls joy. Archidamus, fon of Agefilaus, having received aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called the battle without tears (p), because he did not lofe a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been fo much accustomed to conquer, that they became infensible to the pleasure of victory: but when the news of this battle arrived, and they faw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tendernefs. was followed by the great officers and magistrates. crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to see those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had rifen fo high.

(q) Philifcus, who had been fent by the king of Persia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphos, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all consulted in the affair discussed in that affembly. The Spartans demanded, that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans resusal to comply with that demand, the assembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having lest considerable sums of money with the Lacedæmonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the Persians sear or jealous; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of in-

quietude.

⁽e) Plut. in Agefil. p. 614, 615. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619, 620.
(p) Diod. l. xv. p. 383.
(q) Xenoph. p. 619. Diod. p. 381.

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(F) To form a league against Thebes with greater certainty, the allies had sent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their side deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wise choice, from the great reputation of the ambassador, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negociation. The battle of Leuctra had spread his same into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongst the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him. This is he, who deprived the Lacedamonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itself between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long since, under its king Agesilaus, threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Echatana.

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himfelf upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in esteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and felf-love, and to infinuate to his fubjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian amballadors, and more limple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was faying a great deal, he effeemed him more than ever; and as it is * common with kings, who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not diffemble his extreme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprifed the king; how important it was to the interest of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of balance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make an useful diversion against those republicks, the perpetual and irreconcileable enemies of Persia, that had lately cost it so

(r) Xenoph. 1. vii. p. 620-622! Plut. in Felop. p., 294-

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many losses and inquietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him; because being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and at the same time of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

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The king having pressed Pelopidas to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, "That "Messene should continue free and exempt from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian gallies, which were failed to insest the coast of Boeotia, should be recalled, or that war should be declared against Athens; that those who would not come into the league, or march against such as should oppose it, should be attacked first?" All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. Leon, Timagoras's colleague, said loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, Athens has nothing now to do but to find some other ally.

Pelopidas, having obtained all he desired; left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many presents, than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of those from the Arcadians said on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the king's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain oftentation, and that the so-much-boassed * Plantain of gold which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grass-hopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office: which shows that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. He received also twenty-sour cows, with slaves

It was a tree of gold, of exquisite workmanship, and great value which people went to see out of curiosity.

to take care of them; as having occasion to drink milk; for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side at the king's expence, who gave four talents * for that service. His colleague Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having communicated any thing to him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a tryal in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear that the acceptance of prefents incenfed the Athenians most against Timagoras. Epicrates, a fimple porter, who had been at the Persian court, and had also received presents, having said in a full affembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to pals, by which, instead of the nine Archons annually elected, nine ambassadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people to be sent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage; the affembly only laughed, and made a jest of it. But what offended them. more, was the Thebans having obtained all they demand-In which, fays Plutarch, they did not duly confider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend howmuch stronger and more efficacious that was in persuading, than all the harangues and rhetorical flourishes of the other ambassadors; especially with a prince, accustomed to carefs, and comply with, the strongest, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who besides was not forry to humble Sparta and Athens, the ancient and mortal enemies of his throne.

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The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-establishment of Messen; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre, where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition of the Thebans against Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. I shall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which relates

relates to that great event, without any other interruptions than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appeale the troubles of that court.

SECT. VI. PELOPIDAS marches against ALEXANDER tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him to reason. He goes to Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court, and brings Philip to Thebes as an hostage. He returns into Thessay, is seised by treachery, and made a prisoner. Epaminondas delivers him. Pelopidas gains a victory against the tyrant and is killed in the battle. Extraordinary honours paid to his memory. Tragical end of ALEXANDER.

(t) HE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had lorded it over all Greece, either in conjunction or separately, had inspired fome of their neighbours with the defire of supplanting those cities, and given birth to the hope of succeeding. them in the pre-eminence. A power had rifen up in Theffaly, which began to grow formidable. Jafon, tyrant of Pheræ, had been declared generalissimo of the Thesalians by the consent of the people of that province; and it was to his merit, univerfally known, he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above eight thousand horse, and twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the light armed foldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with fuch a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their general. But death prevented his deligns. He was allaffinated by perfons who had conspired his destruction.

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were fublituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the take of reigning alone, and was soon after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ (u), who seised the

(1) A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C 3.70. Xenoph. 1. vi. p. 579-583, & 598-601. Diod. 1. xv. p. 371-373. (*) A. M. 3635. Ani. J. C. 369.

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tyranny, under the pretence of revenging the death of Against him Pelopidas was fent. Polydorus his father.

As the tyrant made open war against several people of Theffaly, and was fecretly intriguing to subject them all, the citizens fent ambafladors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminoadas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himself the charge of this expedition. He fat out for Theffaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, and obliged Alexander to make his fubmission to him. He there endeavoured by mild usage and friendship to change his disposition, and from a tyrant, to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, an infatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at fuch usage, withdrew secretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Theffalians in fecurity from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, fet out for Macedonia, where his presence had been defired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left iffue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural fon, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was fucceeded by * Perdiccas, with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should fee the most right.

Pelopidas was no fooner arrived, than he put an end to all disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia for hostages, he carried them to Thebes; to show the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans

extended.

^{*} Plutarch makes this

quarrel ander's death, which I shall relate between Alexander and Ptolemy, in the history of Philip. As Æschines which cannot agree with Aschines's was their cotemporary, I thought it account (de Fall. Legat. p. 400) of proper to substitute Perdiccas to the affairs of Perdiccas after Alex- Alexander.

extended, from the reputation of their arms and an entire confidence in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip, who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war against the Greeks, to subject them

to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia fome years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being defirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to eltablish himself upon the throne; and not having an army, he raised some mercenary troops in halte, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy, found means to corrupt those mercenary foldiers by prefents of money, and to bring them over to his fide. At the fame time, awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him. as his superior and master; had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promifed in the most folemn manner to hold the crown only as guardian to the fon of the deceased, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were to to the Thebans; and, in fecurity of his engagements, he gave his fon Philoxenus and fifty other children, who were educated with him, as holtages. These Pelopidas fent to Thebes...

The treachery of the mercenary foldiers ran very muchin his thoughts. He was informed, that they had fent the greatest part of their effects, with their wives and children into the city * Pharsalus, and conceived that a sair opportunity for being revenged of them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together some Thessalian troops, and marched to Pharsalus, where he was scarce arrived before Alexander the tyrant came against him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed a nbassador to him, believing that he came to justify himself, and to answer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him with only Ismenias in his company, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch,

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(x) L P. 292, vretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that respect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing against his person. He was mistaken; for the tyrant seeing them alone and unarmed, made them both prisoners, and seised Pharsalus.

ers, and fessed Pharfalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occation (x). There is in the commerce of fociety, fays he, certain affurances, and as it were ties, of mutual faith, upon which one may reasonably rely: fuch are the fanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all, the confistency of the past conduct of those with whom one treats: when, notwithstanding these motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a missfortune, but not a fault: but to trust one's self to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable instance of error and

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(y) So black a perfidy filled Alexander's fubjects with terrour and distruct, who very much suspected, that afterto flagrant an injustice, and to daring a crime, the tyrant would spare nobody, and would look upon himself uponall occasions, and with all forts of people, as a man indespair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incensed at so vile an infult, immediately sent an army into Theffaly; and as they were displeased with Epaminondas, upon the groundless suspicion of his having been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain occasion, they nominated other generals; so that he served in this expedition only as a private man. love of his country and of the publick good extinguished: all resentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour or personal discontent.

The tyrant however carried Pelopidas to Pheræ, and made a show of him to all the world at first, imagining

that.

⁽x) Lib. viii. p. 512 l. xv. p. 382, 383. (y) Plut. in Pelope. P. 292, 293. Diod. l. xv. 382, 383.

that such a treatment would humble his pride and abate his courage. But Pelopidas, seeing the inhabitants of Pheræ in great consternation, perpetually consoled them, advising them not to despair, and assuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be punished. He caused him to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to spare his life, who, he knew, would no sooner be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes deserved. The tyrant, assonished at his greatness of soul, fent to ask him why he took so much pains for death? It is, returned the illustrious prisoner, that thou mayest perish the sooner by being still more detestable to the gods and men.

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody should see or speak to him. But Thebé his wise, the daughter of Jason, who had also been tyrant of Pheræ, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had the curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not resuse her his permission (2). He loved her tenderly, (if a tyrant may be said to love any body:) but notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and sending some of his guard to search every coffer for concealed poniards. Wretched prince, criess Cicero, who could conside more in a slave and a Barbarian, than in his own wife.

Thebé therefore desiring to see Pelopidas, sound him in a melancholy condition, dressed in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might console him in his distress. Not being able to refrain from tears at such a sight, Ah, unfortunate Pelopidas, said she, how I lament your poor wife! No Thebé, replied he, it is yourself you should lament, who can suffer such a monster as Alexander without being his prisoner. Those

(3) Cic. de Offic. 1. ii. n. 25.,

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Those words touched Thebé to the quick; for it was with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence going often to see Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries she suffered, she daily conceived new abhorrence for her husband, whilst hatred and the desire of re-

venge grew strong in her heart.

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The Theban generals, who had entered Thellaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill-conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant purfued them in their retreat, harraffed them. shamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated, if the foldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who ferved as a private man amongst them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, sometimes sustaining the enemy's attacks, and fometimes charging them in his turn, he completed the retreat with fuccess, and preserved the Boeotians. The generals upon their return were each of them fined ten thousand drachmas *, and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the publick good was his fole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and had a full amends in the glory that attended so generous and disintereited a conduct.

Some days after he marched at the head of the army into Thessay; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had spread already both terrour and joy through the whole country; terrour amongst the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas dismayed, and joy amongst the people, from the assurance of being speedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant punished for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the safety of Pelopidas to his own glory, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, chose rather to protract it; from the apprehension, that the tyrant, if reduced to despair, like a wild beast, would turn

his.

line and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reason nor justice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears and wild boars, that his dogs might tear them in pieces, or he shot them to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports and diversions. In the cities of Melibæa and Scotusa*, which were in alliance with him, he called an assembly of the citizens, and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their youth to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the theatre, and sent to the actor to tell him, not to be under any apprehension upon that account; for that his leaving the place was not from any discontent in regard to him, but because he was ashamed to let the citizens see him weep the missortunes of Hercules and Andromache, who had cut so many of their throats without any compassion.

Though he was little susceptible of pity, he was much so of sear at this time. Amazed at the sudden arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that surrounded him, he made haste to dispatch persons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas could not suffer that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with so wicked a man. He only granted him a truce for thirty days, and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands, he retired with his troops.

(a) Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Pheræ soon returned to his natural disposition. He ruined several cities of Thessay, and put garrisons into those of Phthia, Achæ, and Magnesia. Those cities fent deputies to These to demand a succour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Relopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of setting out, when there happened a sudden eclipse of

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⁽a) Plut. in Pelop. p. 295-298. Xenoph. 1. vi. p. 601.

* Cities of Magnefia.

the fun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at moon-day. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well that this accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expose seven thousand Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terrour and apprehension with which he perceived they were seised. He therefore gave himself to the Thessalans alone, and taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed contrary to the prohibition of the soothsayers, and the opinion of the most wife and judicious.

He was personally incensed against Alexander, in referentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebé his wife had said, and he himself knew of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and an universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in itself. For his sole desire and ambition was to show all Greece, that at the same time the Lacedæmonians sent generals and officers to Dionysius the tyrant, and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people that declared open war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongst the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having affembled his army at Pharfalus, he marched against the tyrant; who being apprifed that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by somebody, that Alexander approached with a great army: So much the better, replied he, we shall beat the greater number

Near a place called Cynocephalus, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. Both armies were in motion to seise that post with their soot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of

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The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's, the enemy. and whilst they purfued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the tops of the hills, having outstripped the Thessalians; and charging rudely such as endeavoured to force those heights and retrenchments, he killed the foremost, and repulsed the others, whom their wounds obliged to give way. Pelopidas, feeing this, recalled his horse, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to those who fought upon the hills.

He prefently made way through his infantry, and passing in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his foldiers vigour and courage in such a manner, as made the enemies believe themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported two or three charges with great resolution: but finding Pelopidas's infantry continually gained ground, and that his cavalry were returned from the purfuit to support them, they began to give way, and retired flowly, still making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, feeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to flight, began to break, and was in great diforder, he stopped for fome time, looking about every where for Alexander.

As foon as he perceived him upon his right wing rallying and encouraging his mercenary foldiers, he could contain himself no longer, but fired with that view, and abandoning to his fole refentment the care of his life, and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and ran forwards with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no anfwer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himself amongst his guards. battalion standing firm for some time, Pelopidas broke the first ranks, and killed the greatest part of the guards upon the spot. The rest continuing the fight at a distance, pierced his arms and breast at length with their javelins The Theffalians, alarmed at the danger in which they faw him, made all the hafte they could from the tops of the hills to his affiftance; but he was fallen dead when they arrived.

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The infantry and the Theban horse, returning to the fight against the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and purfued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more than three thousand of

the tyrant's troops were killed.

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This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a confummate valour, is inexcufable, and has been generally condemned, because there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence. The greatest courage is It spares itself where it ought, and excool and ledate. poses itself when occasion makes it necessary. A general ought to fee every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a condition to apply the proper remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself to the danger of being cut off, and of caufing the lofs of his army by his death.

(b) Euripides, after having faid in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory by taking care of his own life, adds, that if it be necessary for him to die, it must be when he refigns his life into the hands of virtue; to fignify, that only virtue, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is to

preferve him who preferves others.

(c) It is in this fense the faying of Timotheus is so just and estimable. When Chares showed the Athenians the wounds he had received whilft he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike: And for me, said Timotheus, when I besieged Samos, I was much ashamed to see a dart fall very near me, as having exposed myself like a young man without necessity, and more than was confishent for the general of so great an army. Hannibal certainly cannot be suspected of fear, and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he fought, he never received any wound except only at the liege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas is reproached with having facrificed all his other virtues to his

⁽b) Plut. in Pelop. p. 317. (c) Ibid. p. 278.

valour, by such a prodigality of his life, and with having

died rather for himself than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than him. His death changed the victory fo lately gained into mourning, A profound filence and univerfal affliction reigned through. out the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city by which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophies, and armour of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the fame time highly afflicted for his death, and equally fenfible of their obligations to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their fole expence the obsequies of a general, who had devoted himfelf for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For, saus Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of forrow, which may be imposed by the publick authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real fentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as publick, the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanimous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing further is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and an homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be ima-

gined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but refolved to avenge him. A fmall army of feven thoufand foot and feven hundred horse were immediately sent against Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terrour of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, to give the Magnefians, Phthians, and Achæans, their liberty, to

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Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, fays Plutarch, did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: they had referved one for him worthy of a Thebé his wife, who faw with horrour and detestation the cruelty and perfidy of her husband, and had not forgot the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her, whilst in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch in the night; but he placed little confidence in them, and as his life was in fome fort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding herce, and knew nobody but his mafter, Thebé and the flave who fed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebé thut up her brothers during the day-time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as he was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep fleep immediately. Thebé went out presently after, and ordered the flave to take away the dog, that he might not diffurb her husband's repose; and lest the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, the covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, the made her brothers ascend, armed with daggers; who, when they came to the door, were feiled with terrour, and would go no further. Thebe, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to Their shame and fear re-animated them: she made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herfelf, whilst they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all forts of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given Vol. V.

valour, by fuch a prodigality of his life, and with having

died rather for himfelf than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than him. His death changed the victory fo lately gained into mourning, A profound filence and univerfal affliction reigned through. out the whole army, as if it had been entirely defeated, When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city by which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it, carrying crowns, trophics, and armour of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the fame time highly afflicted for his death, and equally fen. fible of their obligations to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their fole expence the obsequies of a general, who had devoted himfelf for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be refused to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For, fats Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of forrow, which may be imposed by the publick authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real fentiments. The tears which flow in private as well as publick, the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanmous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing further is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and an homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and, in my opinion, nothing-more great and magnificent could be ima-

gined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but resolved to avenge him. A small army of seven thoufand foot and seven hundred horse were immediately sent against Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terrour of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thesalians the cities he had taken from them, to give the Magnefians, Phthians, and Achæans, their liberty, to

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for a prey to the dogs and vultures; a just reward for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

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SECT. VII. EPAMINONDAS is chosen general of the Thebans, His second attempt against Sparta. His celebrated victory at Mantinea. His death and character.

(d) THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had sprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attach themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and advanced towards Mantinea he formed an enterprise, which, he believed, would immortalise his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different rout from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprise, as it had neither walls, defence, nor troops: but happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprise Agesilaus of his design, he immediately dispatched one of his horse to advise the city of the danger that threatened it,

and arrived there foon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered

⁽d) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 642-644. Plut. in Agefil. p. 615. Diod. p. 391, 392.

discovered, thought it incumbent on him not to retire without some attempt. He (e) therefore made his troops advance, and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city at feveral quarters, penetrated as far as the publick place, and feifed that part of Sparta which lay upon the fide of the river. Agefilaus made head every where, and defended himfelf with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He faw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair; means which he had never used, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great fuccess in the present dangerous emergency. For by this happy defpair and prudent audacity, he in a manner fnatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His fon Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest, and with his small troop stopped the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

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A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished himself particularly in this action. He was very handsome in the face, perfectly well shaped, of an advantageous stature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor clothes upon his body, which shone with oil, and held a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other. this condition he quitted his house with the utmost eagerness, and breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himself upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself. Whether the enemy were difmayed at fo aftonishing a fight, or, fays Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preferving him upon account of his extraordinary valour. It is faid, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a thousand drachmas (f) for having exposed himself to so great a danger without arms.

(e) Polyb. 1. ix. p. 546. (f) Five bundred livres.

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Epaminondas, having failed of his aim, forefeeing that the Arcadians would certainly haften to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces upon his hands at the fame time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear.

(g) The general confidering his command was upon the point of expiring, that if he did not fight his reputation might suffer extremely, and that immediately after his retreat the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, he gave orders to his troops to

hold themselves in readiness for battle.

The Greeks had never fought amongst themselves The Lacedæmonians with more numerous armies. confifted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Thebans of thirty thousand foot and Upon the right wing of the three thousand horse. former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians, were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achaens, who were the weakest of their troops, had the centre, and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the centre. The cavalry on each fide were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the fame order of battle, in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lofe, in the disposition of his army, a time which cannot be

too much faved in great enterprises.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-against them at a quarter of a league's distance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy in effect were deceived by that stand, and reckoning no longer upon

(g) Xenoph. 1. vii. p. 645-647.

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upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardour to extinguish, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

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iger pon Epaminondas, however, by fuddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his left wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the centre and right wing of his army to move very flow, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops, of which he had no great opinion.

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops, which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, says Xenophon. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of their army, by charging upon the right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground in a readiness to slank the Athenians; as well to cover his right, as to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in slank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprised when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

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Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Theffalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horfe. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bowmen, slingers and dartmen, in the intervals of his horse, in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones and javelins, upon them. The other army had neglected to take the fame precaution, and had made another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons, as if they had been a phalanx. By this means, their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made feveral ineffectual attacks with great loss, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas, with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both fides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being resolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They begun by fighting with the spear, and those first arms being soon broken in the sury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks than to lose a step of

their ground.

The furious flaughter on both fides having continued a great while without the victory's inclining to either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him, thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed therefore a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and putting himself at the head of them, he made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. His

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troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all that flood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians, difmayed by the prefence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and fuccess, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great flaughter of them. But fome troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardour, suddenly rallied, and returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned fome of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroick valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breaft across his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury, the one fide using their utmost endeavours to take The Thebans him alive, and the other to fave him. gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not purfue them far, and returning immediately, contented themselves with remaining mafters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing further, as if they stayed for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, difmayed by the accident of Epaminondas, whom they believed to be dead, and feeming rather vanquished than victorious, neglected to pursue their: success in the same manner, and returned to their former

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Whilst this passed on the left wing of the Thebans, the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being seconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their

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darts,

darts, they were broken and obliged to fly. After having dispersed and repulsed them in this manner, instead of purfuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into disorder, and pushed with great vigour. Just as they were ready to turn tail, the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of referve, feeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the four to its relief, charged the Theban horfe, who expected nothing fo little, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the same time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied themselves, and instead of going to the assistance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detachment posted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line and put it to the fword.

After these different movements, and this alternative of losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still and rested upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, because they had defeated the right wing, and remained masters of the field of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides resused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the ancients, was confessing their defeat. The Lacedæmonians however sent first to demand that permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last

duties to the flain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the disposition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle to the reader's attention, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monsieur Follard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the master-piece of that great captain.

Epaminondas

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Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. furgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as foon as the head of the dart was drawn Those words gave all that were present the out of it. utmost forrow and affliction, who were inconfolable on feeing fo great a man about to die, and to die without iffue. For him, the only concern he expressed, was about his arms, and the success of the battle. When they thowed him his shield, and assured him that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and ferene air; "Do not regard (faid he) this day as " the end of my life, but as the beginning of my happi-" nefs, and the completion of my glory. I leave Thebes " triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece de-" livered from the voke of servitude. For the rest, I do " not reckon that I die without islue; Leuctra and " Mantinea are two illustrious daughters, that will not " fail to keep my name alive, and to transmit it to pos-" terity." Having spoke to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may be truely faid, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero * feems to rank above all the illustrious men Greece ever produced. † Justin is of the same opinion, when he says, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted; so Thebes, after having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not distinguished by any memorable action, and afterwards, it was not same for its virtues but missortunes, till it sunk into its original obscurity; so that it saw its glory

take birth, and expire with this great man.

* Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ. Acud, Quast. l. i. n. 4.

funt: ut non tam illum amissile, quam com illo omnes interiisse viderentur. Nam neque hunc ante ducem ullum memorabile bellum gestere, nec postea virtutibus, sed cladibus insignes suere: ut manisestum sit, patrize gloriam & natam & extinctam cum eo suisse. Justin, 1, vi. c. 8.

[†] Nam sicuti telo, si primam aciem præsiegeris, reliquo serro vim nocendi sustuleris; sic illo velut mucrone teli ablato duce Thebanorum, Li queque publicæ vires hebitatæ

It has been * doubted whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He fought not power for himself but for his country; and was fo perfectly void of felf. interest, that, at his death, he was not worth the expences of his funeral. Truly a philosopher, and poor out of tafte, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him, and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epa. minondas fent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns (b) in his name. That rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon fuch an errand; (i) Why, replied Epaminondas, it is because this honest man is in

want, and you are rich +.

He had ‡ cultivated those generous and noble fentiments in himself by the study of polite learning and philosophy, which he had made his usual employment and sole delight from his earliest infancy; so that it was furprifing, and a question frequently asked, how and at what time, it was possible for a man, always busy amongst books, to attain, or rather feife the knowledge of the art military in fo great a degree of perfection. Fond of leifure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shunned publick employments, and

(b) A talent. * Fuit incertum, vir melier an dux effet. Nam imperium non fibi semper sed patriæ quæsivit; & pefuneri defuerit. Gloriæ quoque non cupidior, quam pecuniæ: quippe reeufanti omnia imperia ingesta funt, honoresque ita gessit, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipfi

(i) Plut. de præcept, reipub. ger. p. 809. dignitati vlderetur. Justin. + "Ori Kensus, einer, Erne av

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I Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, unde tam infignis militiæ scientia homini inter literas nato. Justin,

made His feure him. place philo alpir ing l conc felf, max the : our coun good

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made no interests but to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure and almost unknown. His merit however discovered him. He was taken from his solitude by force, to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated that philosophy, though generally in contempt with those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes. For besides its being a great advance towards conquering the enemy, to know how to conquer one's self, in this school * anciently were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a due discharge of them, what we owe our country, the right use of authority, wherein true courage consists: in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain.

He possessed all the ornaments of the mind: he had the talent of speaking in perfection, and was well versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all those excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and of which, he knew not what it was to be oftentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, said, (k) that he never had met with a man who knew more, and spoke less.

It may be said therefore of Epaminondas, that he salsified the proverb, which treated the Bosotians as gross and stupid. This was their common t characteristick, and was imputed to the gross air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taste was attributed to the subtlety of the air they breathed. Horace says, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taste of poetry, one would swear him a true Bosotian.

Bæotum in crasso jurares aere natum. Epist. i. l. 2. In thick Bæotian air you'd swear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination for musick, he thought fit to make this excuse:

^{*} The works of Plato, Xenophon, lum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur and Ariflotle are proofs of this.

Attici; crassum Thebis, itaque pin-

⁺ Inter locorum naturas quantum interfit, videmus—Athenis tenue cœ-

It is for Thebans * to fing as they do, who know not how to speak. Pindar and Plutarch, who had very little of the soil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that fort of merit, which results from elevation of genius,

and the study of science.

I shall conclude his portrait and character with a circumstance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in fome fenfe be preferred to them, as it expresses a good heart, and a tender and fentible spirit; qualities very rare amongst the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind commonly gaze at with admiration, and feem almost the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the support and restorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain that ever was in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor, Epaminondas, little fenfible to fo affecting and fo deferved a glory, (1) My joy, faid he, arises from my sense of That, which the news of my victory will give my father and my mother.

Nothing in history seems so valuable to me as such fentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither salse glory, nor salse greatness have corrupted. I confess it is with grief I see these noble sentiments daily expire amongst us, especially in persons whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good sathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends, and who would think it a disgrace to them to express for a father and mother the

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⁽¹⁾ Flut. in Coriol. p. 215.

^{*} They were great musicians,

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Until Epamanondas's time, two cities had exercifed alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a diffinguished pre-eminence, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals, and especially of Paufanias, soon lost it. The Athenians, until the Peloponnesian war, held the first rank, but in a manner scarce discernable in any other respect, than their care in acquitting themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themfelves their equals. They judged at that time, and very jully that the true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evidence their superiority Those times, fo only by fervices and benefactions. glorious for Athens, were of about forty-five years continuance, and they retained a part of that pre-eminence during the twenty-feven years of the Peloponnesian war; which make in all the feventy-two, or feventy-three years, which Demosthenes gives to the duration of their empire (m): but for this latter space of time, the Greeks, disgusted by the haughtiness of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedæmonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued so from the time Lyfander made himself master of Athens, until the first war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themfelves and the rest of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more infolent than ever. length, Thebes disputed the supremacy, and, by the exalted merit of a fingle man, faw itself at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above cited, that the pre-eminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a pre-eminence of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independence in the other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of justice, and established customs, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and without any motive of personal discontent, to espouse with ardour the cause of the

injured.

I shall add here another very judicious reflection from Polybius (n). He attributes the wife conduct of the Athenians, in the times I speak of, to the ability of the generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. A vessel without a master, says he, is exposed to great dangers, when every one infifts upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other measures. If then a rude form attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them; they abandon themselves to the pilot's skill, and all the rowers doing their duty, the ship is faved, and in a state of security. But if the tempest ceases, and when the weather grows calm again, the discord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and fome are for continuing their voyage, whilst others resolve to stop in the midst of the courfe; if on one fide they loofe their fails, and furl them on the other; it often happens, that after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in the port. This, fays Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republick. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wife counsels of an Aristides, a Themistocles, a Pericles, it came off yictorious from the greatest dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but caprice, and being become too infolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest mistortunes.

(n) Polyb. 1. vii. p. 488.

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SECT. VIII. Death of EVAGORAS king of Salamin.
NICOCLES his fon succeeds him. Admirable character
of that prince.

THE third year of the 101st Olympiad, soon after the Thebans had destroyed Platæa and Thespix, as has been observed before, Evagoras, king of Salamin in the ifle of Cyprus, of whom much has been faid in the preceding volume, was affaffinated by one of his eunuchs. His fon Nicocles fucceeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father: and he feemed to make it his duty to be entirely intent upon treading in his steps (p). When he took possession of the throne, he found the publick treasures entirely exhausted, by the great expences his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the king of Persia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, thought every means just for the reestablishment of their affairs; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The publick felicity was his fole object, and justice his favourite He discharged the debts of the state gradually, not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expences, and by using a wife economy in the administration of his revenue. (q) " I " am assured (faid he) that no citizen can complain that " I have done him the least wrong, and I have the fatis-" faction to know, that I have enriched many with an " unsparing hand." He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his subjects such a defiance.

(r) He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in their fortune; I mean temperance. It is most amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a fortune, to

(a) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. 1. xv. p. 363. (p) Isocrat. in Nicol. 1. 64. (q) Ibid. p. 65, 66. (r) Ibid. p. 67.

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which every thing is lawful, and wherein pleasure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, and preventing his delires, to make a long resistance against the violence and infinuation of her soft assaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts of civil society should be treated with due regard, whilst that of marriage, the most facred and inviblable of obligations, was broke through with impunity; and that men should not blush to commit an infidelity in respect to their wives, of which should their wives be guilty, it would throw them into the utmost anguish and despair.

What I have faid of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, Isocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he should make him speak in such a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse, supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to him the duties of subjects to their princes; love, respect, obedience, sidelity, and devotion to their service; and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, he does not discharge them an account of

his own conduct and fentiments.

(s) In another discourse, which precedes this, Hocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the sovereignty, and makes excellent reflexions upon that subject, of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him that the virtue of private persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inseparable from it, by the missortunes to which they are frequently exposed, by their distance from pleasures and luxury, and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas the generality of princes have none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and inactive life, should set

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lity hat ing fet part apart a proper time for business and the publick affairs, should form his council of the most able and experienced perfons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himfelf as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom, as he is by his dignity, and especially acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them sincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. "Persist, " (faid he) in the religion you have received from your " fore-fathers, but be affured that the most grateful " adoration and facrifice that you can offer to the Divi-" nity, is that of the heart, in rendering yourfelf good " and just. Show, upon all occasions, so high a regard " for truth, that a fingle word from you may be more " confided in than the oath of others. Be a warrior, by " your ability in military affairs, and by fuch a warlike " provision as may intimidate your enemies; but let your " inclinations be pacifick, and be rigidly exact in never " pretending to, or undertaking any thing unjustly. The " only certain proof that you have reigned well, will be " the power of bearing this testimony to yourself; that " your people are become both more happy and more " wife under your government."

What feems to me the most remarkable in this discourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praises, nor with those studied reservations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and more for the prince's than for the writer's praise. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsels, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to say, twenty thousand crowns (t).

(t) Plut. in vit. Ifoc. p. 838.

SECT. IX. ARTAXERXES MNEMON undertakes the reduction of Egypt. IPHICRATES the Athenian is appointed general of the Athenian troops. The enterprise miscarries by the ill conduct of PHARNABASUS the Persian general.

ARTAXERXES, after having given his people a relaxation of feveral years, had formed the defign of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias had the command (x). He had accepted that office

without the authority of the republick.

Pharnabasus, having been charged with this war, sent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republick with the king's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him, upon pain of death, to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. (y) Achoris, king of Egypt, died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephreritus was the next, and sour months after

Nectanebis, who reigned ten or twelve years.

Artaxerxes,

(u) A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Diod. 1. xv. p. 328. & 347. (x) Cor. Nep. in Chab. & in Iphic. (y) Eufeb. in Chron.

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(z) Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, fent ambassadors thither, to declare to the several states, that the king's intent was they should all live in peace with each other conformably to the treaty of Antalcides, that all garrisons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure except the Thebans, who resused to conform to it.

(a) At length, every thing being in readiness for the invalion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Acæ, since called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there the army was found to consist of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabasus, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. The forces at sea were in proportion to those at land; their sleet consisting of three hundred gallies, besides two hundred vessels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for the sleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated from each other as little as possible. The war was to open with the fiege of Pelufium; but so much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by fea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, failed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile called Mendesium. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by seven different channels, of which only two * remain at this day; and at each of those mouths there was a fort with a good garrison to defend the entrance. The Mendesium not being so well fortified as that of Pelufium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried fword in hand, and no quarter

given to those who were found in it.

⁽a) A. M. 3630 Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. 1. xv. p. 355. (a) Ibid. F. 358, 359.

^{*} Damietta and Rofetta.

After this fignal action, Iphicrates thought it adviseable to re-imbark upon the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered the panick, into which so formidable an invasion, and the blow already received, had thrown them, they had found the capital without any defence, it had inevitably fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been re-conquered. But the gross of the army not being arrived, Pharnabasus believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-assembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decifive moments, which it is absolutely proper to seise, judged quite differently, and in despair to see an opportunity suffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, he made preffing instances for permission to go at least with the twenty thousand men under his command. Pharnabafus refused to comply with that demand, out of abject jealoufy; apprehending, that if the enterprife fucceeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrifon into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and harraffed the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phœnicia, having first lost ineffectually the best part of their troops.

Thus this expedition, which had cost immense sums, and for which the preparations alone had given so much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcileable entity between the two generals, who had the command of it. Pharnabasus, to excuse himself, accused Iphicrates

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of having prevented its fuccess; and Iphicrates with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabasus. But well assured that the Persian lord would be believed at his court in preference to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, he chose to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabasus caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it; and some time after the Athenians declared him sole admiral of their sleet.

(b) Most of the projects of the Persian court miscarried by their flowness in putting them in execution. Their generals hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their They had a plan of conduct in their instrucdiscretion. tions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely loft. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabasus took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and penetration that could be defired in an accomplished general (c), asked him one day, how it happened that he was fo quick in his views, and so slow in his actions? It is, replied Pharnabasus, because my views depend only upon me, but their exe-Eution upon my master.

(d) Diod. 1. xv. p. 358.

(c) Ibid. p. 3750]

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SECT. X. The Lacedæmonians fend AGESILAUS to the aid of TACHOS, who had revolted from the Perfians. The king of Sparta's actions in Egypt. His death. The greatest part of the provinces revolt against ARTAXERXES.

(d) A FTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties, equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was fecured to each city, and the Mef. fenians included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who refolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That resolution, of which Agefilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republick again in inevitable misfortunes, from the necessity to which the want of money exposed them of borrowing great fums and of levying great imposts, instead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.

(e) Whilit this passed in Greece, Tachos, who had ascended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himself against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours to reduce

that kingdom.

For this purpose, Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians, with Agesilaus to command them, whom he promised to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacedæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his having forced them

⁽d) Plut. in Agesil. p. 616—618, Diod. 1. xv. p. 397—401. (e) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph. de reg. Agesil. p. 665. Cor. Nep. in Agesil. c. viii.

them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occasion to express their refentment. Chabrias went also into the service of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republick's participation.

This commission did Agesilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to serve a Barbarian, who

had revolted against his master.

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When he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals and the great officers of his house, came to his ship to receive, and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were as sollicitous to see him, from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agesilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they saw nothing splendid or majestick either in his person or equipage, and saw only an old man of a mean aspect and small body, without any appearance, and dressed in a bad robe of a very coarse stuff, they were seised, with an immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied the sable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much surprised at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the sea-forces, and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himself, which was not the only mortification he had experienced.

Tachos came to a refolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the seat of the war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Agesilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs were not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would do much

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better to remain in them, and content himself with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despited this wife counsel, and expressed no less difregard for him on all other occasions. Agesilaus was so much incensed at fuch conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms against him during his absence, and had placed Nectanebis his * cousin upon the throne. Agesilaus, abandoning the king, to whose aid he had been fent, and joining the rebel, who had dethroned him, alledged in justification of himself, that he was fent to the assistance of the Egyptians; and that they, having taken up arms against Tachos, he was not at liberty to serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He dispatched expresses thither, and the instructions he received, were to act as he should judge most advantageous for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his troops against the rebels.

Agefilaus covered so criminal a conduct with the veil of the publick utility. But, says Plutarch, remove that delusive blind, the most just and only true name, which can be given the action, is that of persidy and treason. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, making the Glorious and the Good consist principally in the service of that country, which they idolized, knew no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am surprised so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, that Agesilaus attached himself to that of the two kings, who seemed

the best affected to Greece.

At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes set up for himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebis. This new competitor had an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave his advice to attack them, before they were exercised and disciplined.

^{*} Diodorus calls bim bis fon; Plutarch bis coufin.

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disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebis imagined, that Agelilaus only gave him this advice to betray him in consequence as he had done Tachos. therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops. who foon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agefilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendesian prince belieged them. Nectanebis would then have attacked the enemy before his works which were begun were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused his compliance at first, which extremely augmented the fuspicions conceived of him. At length, when he saw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line, as the troops within the city could occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebis, that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their furrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in fuch a manner, as they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agefilaus's expectation; the befiegers were beaten, and from henceforth Agefilaus conducted all the operations of the war with fo much fuccess, that the enemy prince was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

(f) The following winter, after having well established Nectanebis, he embarked to return to Lacedæmon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called the port of Menalaus, where he fell sick and died, at the age of sourscore and sour years. He had reigned forty-one of them at Sparta, and of those forty-one he had passed thirty with the reputation of the greatest, and most powerful of all the Greeks, and had been looked upon as the leader and king of almost all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had acquired; and Vol. V.

(f) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

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Xenophon, in his eulogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much.

The body of Agesilaus was carried to Sparta. Those who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan custom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His son Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, who was the fifth king of the line of Agesilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part

of the provinces, in subjection to Persia, revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this Defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people, and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildness and sweetness of temper in his character: but that easiness degenerated into sloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he discovered a dislike for all business and application, from whence the good qualities, which he otherwise possessed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became useless, and without effect. The nobility and governors of provinces, abusing his favour and the infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treated them with insolence and cruelty, loaded them with taxes, and did every thing in their power to render the Persian yoke insupportable.

The discontent became general, and broke out, after long suffering, almost at the same time on all sides. Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were Ariobarzanes, prince of Phrygia, Mausolus, king of Caria, Orontes, governor of Mysia, and Autophradates, governor of Lydia. Detames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder

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mainder did not suffice for the expences of a war against the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance; and those, who had been the first, and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, were also the foremost in resuming it, and in betraying the interests of the others, to make their peace with the king.

The provinces of Asia Minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand foreign troops to those of the country, and had charged the fame Orontes with the care of raifing them. But when he had got the money for that fervice into his hands with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himself, and delivered to the king the persons who had brought it from the revolted provinces.

Reomithras, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor, being fent into * Egypt to negociate fuccours, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, he affembled the principal revolters at Leucas, a city of Asia Minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negociation, feifed them all, delivered them to the king to make his peace, and kept the money he had received in Egypt for the confederacy. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, diffolved of itself, or, to speak more properly, was sufpended for fome time.

Troubles at the court of ARTAXERXES SECT. XI. concerning his successor. Death of that prince.

(g) THE end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with cabals. The whole court were divided into factions in favour of one or other of h's fons, who pretended to the succession. He had an hundred and fifty by

⁽g) Plut. in Artax. p. 1024-1027. Diod. 1. xv. p. 400. Justin.

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by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and fixty, and three by his lawful wife Atoffa; Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practises, he declared Darius, the eldeft, his fuccessor. And to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to assume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal * tiara. But the young prince was for having fomething more real. Befides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incenfed him, and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tiribafus, of whom mention has been made feveral times in the preceeding volume, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution, from a like subject of discontent against the king; who, having promifed to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke his word both times, and married them himself: fuch abominable incests being permitted at that time in Persia, the religion of the na-

tion not prohibiting them.

The number of the conspirators were already very great, and the day fixed for the execution, when an eunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered it to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so great a danger, by neglecting a strict enquiry into-it; but that it would be much more fo, to give credit to it without certain and unquestionable proof. He affured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspirators were suffered to enter the king's apartment, and then feifed. Darius and all his accomplices were punished as they deferved.

After the death of Darius, the cabals began again. Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames. The two first pretended to the throne in right of birth, being the fons of the queen.

* This tiara was a turban, or of feathers, which they were assaut and before. All others wore then aslant, and behind.

kind of head dress, with the plume of feathers standing upright upon it. The feven counsellors had also plumes

had the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the fon of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his reftless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice against Ariaspes, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely simple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he found means to corrupt, threaten him fo terribly in the name of the king his father, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arfames to give him umbrage, because his father, and all the world considered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he caused to be all affinated by Harpates, fon of Tiribafus.

This loss, which followed close upon the other, and the exceeding wickedness with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: nor is it surprising, that at his age he should not have strength enough to support so great an affliction. (b) He sunk under it into his tomb, after a reign of forty-three years, which might have been called happy, if not interrupted by many revolts. That of his successor will be no less disturbed

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SECT. XII. Causes of the frequent insurrections and revolts in the Persian empire.

I HAVE taken care in relating the seditions that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here, under the same point of view, the different causes of such insurrections, which foretell the approaching decline of the Persian empire.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to

K 3 (b) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361. the charms of voluptuousness and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces amongst women, and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying in soft effeminate case and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and made their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches,

and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were besides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity to govern, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor ability to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of publick business, the fatigues of commanding armies, and the dangers which attend the execution of great enterprises; confining their ambition to bearing alone the losty title of the great king, and the king of kings.

of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either service or merit. It was the credit of the favourites, the secret intrigues of the court, the sollicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons, who were to fill the most important posts of the empire; and appropriated the rewards due to the officers who had done the

state real service to their own creatures.

IV. These courtiers, often out of a base, mean jealousy of the merit that gave them umbrage, and reproached their small abilities, removed their rivals from publick employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state. * Sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false informations, bring them to trial, as criminals against the state, and force the king's most saithful servants, for their defence against their calumniators, to seek their safety in revolting, and turning those arms against their prince, which they had so often made triumph for his glory, and the service of the empire.

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^{*} Pharnabafus, Tiribafus, Datames, &c.

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependence, restrained them under such limited orders, as obliged them to let slip the occasions of conquering, and prevented them, by attending new orders, from pushing their advantages. They also often made them responsible for their bad success, after having let them want every thing

necessary to the service.

VI. The kings of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus, and the ancient Persians, who contented themselves with cresses and sallads for their food, and water for their drink. The whole nobility had been insected with the contagion of this example. In retaining the single meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to excess; and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory,

as we have feen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine, to the Red-sea and Æthiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean-sea, was a great obstacle to the sidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their masters; who knew them only by the weight of their taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their Satraps or governors; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia did not compose an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state, whose members were united by the common ties of interests, manners, language, and religion, and animated with the same spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. It was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultous, and even forced assemblage of different nations, formerly free and independent, of whom some, who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their foresathers, saw

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themselves with pain transported into unknown regions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered to retain their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. These different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation amongst them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, desired nothing so ardently as their liberty, and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire, which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not affect a government that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

thare in its authority or privileges.

1X. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the vicerous of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raife and pay armies; to impose tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vaffal kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without colleagues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of commanding absolutely, and of In consequence of which, it was with great reigning. repugnance they submitted to be removed from their governments, and often endeavoured to support themselves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and ministers, thought it for their honour to imitate in their equipages, tables, moveables, and habits, the pomp and splendour of the court in which they had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, and to surnish out expences so much above the fortunes of private persons, they were reduced to oppress the subjects under their jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, slagrant extortions, and the shameful traffick of a publick venality, that set those offices to sale for money, which

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PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

SECT. I. OCHUS afcends the throne of Persia. His cruelties. Revolt of several nations.

HE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in succeeding to him, he should not find the same favourable dispositions in the people and nobility of whom he had made himself the horrour by the murder of his two brothers. (h) To prevent that aversion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's person to conceal his death from the publick. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and fealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, always by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almost ten months believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father and afcended the throne, taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes. (i) Authors

⁽b) Polyæn. Stratag. vii. (i) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

most frequently give him that of Ochus, by which name I shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions foon explained. In a very short time the palace and the whole empire were filled with his murders. (k) To remove from the revolted provinces all means of fetting some other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himself at once of all trouble, that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he put them all to death, without regard to fex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused his own fifter Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive; (1) and having that up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his fons and grandfons, in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because those princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle is apparently the father of Sifygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus: (m) For Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus had caufed fourfcore of her brothers with their father to be massacred in one day. He treated with the fame barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, whom he suspected of the least discontent whatsoever.

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(n) The cruelties, exercised by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabasus, governor of one of the Asiatick provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him, and with his aid deseated an army of seventy thousand men sent by the king to reduce him. Artabasus, in reward of so great a service, made Chares a present of money to desray the whole expences of his armament. The king of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time employed in the war of the allies. The king's menace to join their enemies with a numerous armament.

rous army obliged them to recall Chares.

Pos.

K 6 Artabafus

(k) Justin. 1. x. c. 3. (1) Val. Max. 1 ix. c. 2. (m) Quint. Curt 1. x. c. 5. (n) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Diod. 1. xvi. p. 433, 434.

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(o) Artabasus, being abandoned by them, had recourse to the Thebans, of whom he obtained five thousand men whom he took into his pay, with Pammenes to command them. This re-inforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops, and their commander. great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republick was engaged in a war with the Phocæans. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. (p) It is certain, that foon after, they made their peace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to fay, three hundred thousand crowns. Artabasus destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon.

Ochus being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the side of Egypt which had revolted long before. About the same time, several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here, after which I shall return to the reign of

Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

SECT. II. War of the allies against the Athenians.

SOME few years after the revolt of Asia Minor, (q) of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the hundred and siftieth Olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which till then they had depended. To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. *They were the last of the Athenian generals, who did honour to their country; no one

(o) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. (p) Diod. I. xvi. p. 438. (g) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

^{*} Hæc extrema suit ætas imperatorum Athenienssum. Iphicratis, urbe suit dignus memoria. Cor. Nop. Chabriæ, Timothei: neque post ilin Timot. c. iv.

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(r) CHABRIAS had already acquired a great name, when having been fent against the Spartans to the aid of the Thebans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken slight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, having closed their siles with one knee upon the ground covered with their bucklers, and presented their pikes in front, in such a manner, that they could not be broke, and Agestlans, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought.

IPHICRATES was of very mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens, merit was the sole nobility. This person may be truely said to be the son of his actions. Having signalised himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In a prosecution carried on against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and made very great use of his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth; Yes, replied he, The nobility of my family begins in me: That of yours ends in you. He married the daughter of Cotys, king: of Thrace.

(s) He is * ranked with the greatest men of Greece, especially in what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline. He made several alterations in the soldiers armour. Before him, the buckless were very long and heavy, and, for that reason, were too great a burthen, and extremely troublesome: he had them made shorter and lighter, so that, without exposing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary,

⁽r) Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. i. in Iphic. c. i.

⁽s) Diod. 1. xv. p. 360. Cor. Nep.

^{*} Iphicrates Athenienfis, non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum

ætatis suæ cum primis compararetur, sed ne de majoribus natu quidem quisquam anteponeretur. Cor. Nep.

he lengthened the pikes and fwords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a greater distance. He also changed the cuirasses, and instead of iron and brass, of which they were made before, he caused them to be made of flax. It is not easy to conceive how such armour could defend the soldiers, or be any security against wounds. But that flax being soaked in vinegar, mingled with salt, was prepared in such a manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable either to sword or sire. The use of it was common amongst several nations.

No troops were ever better exercised or disciplined than those of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and in times of peace and tranquillity, made them perform all the necessary evolutions, either in attacking the enemy, or defending themselves; in laying ambuscades, or avoiding them; in keeping their ranks even in the purfuit of the enemy, without abandoning themselves to an ardour which often becomes pernicious, or to rally with fuccefs, after having begun to break and give way. So that when the battle was to be given, all was in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and foldiers drew themselves up without any trouble, and even in the heat of action performed their parts, as the most able general would have directed them. A merit very rare, as I have been informed, but very estimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, and implies a very uncommon fuperiority of genius in the general.

Timotheus was the fon of Conon, so much celebrated for his great actions, and the important services he had rendered his country. * He did not degenerate from his sather's reputation, either for his merit in the field, or his ability in the government of the state; but he added to those excellencies, the glory which results from the talents

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^{*} Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris pritis neque minus civitatis regendre. Cor. Nep. c. i.

Timotheus Cononis filius, cum belli laude non inferior fuisset quam pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ & ingenii gloriam adjecit. Cic. 1. 1. de Offic. n. 116.

of the mind, having distinguished himself particularly by

the gift of eloquence, and a taste of the sciences.

(t) No captain at first ever experienced less than himfelf the inconstancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprise, to accomplish it. Success perpetually attended his views and defires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite jealousy. Those who envied him, as I have already observed, caused him to be painted afleep, with Fortune by him taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coldly, If I take places in my fleep, what shall I do when I am awake? He took the thing afterwards more feriously, and angry with those who pretended to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in publick, that he did not owe his fuccess to fortune, but to himself. That goddess, says Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never fuccessful after-Such were the chiefs employed in the war of wards. the allies.

(u) The war and the campaign opened with the fiege of Chio. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the sea forces. All the allies exerted themselves in sending aid to that island. Chabrias having forced the passage, entered the port, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other gallies were assaid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately surrounded on all sides, and his vessel exceedingly damaged by the assaults of the enemy. He might have saved himself by swimming to the Athenian sleet, as his soldiers did; but from a mistaken principle of glory, he thought it inconsistent with the duty of a general to abandon his vessel in such a manner, and preferred a death, glorious in his sense, to a shameful slight.

This first attempt having miscarried, both sides applied themselves vigorously to making new preparations. The Athenians sitted out a fleet of sixty gallies, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed sixty more under

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⁽¹⁾ Plut. Sylla. p. 454. (u) Diod. 1. in Chab. c. iv.

⁽u) Died. 1. xvi. p. 412. Cor. Nep.

Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies confisted of an hundred fail. After having ravaged feveral islands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they fat down before Samos. The Athenians on their fide having united all their forces, besieged Byzantium. The allies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other, prepared to fight, when fuddenly a violent storm arose. notwithstanding which, Chares resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than him, thought it improper to hazard a battle in fuch a conjuncture. Chares, enraged at their not following his advice, called the foldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, oftentatious, and full of himself; one who exaggerated his own services, depreciated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of fuccesses. He wrote to Athens against his two colleagues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people, * capricious, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of such as were distinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to tryal.

The faction of Chares which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was sentenced to pay a fine of an hundred talents †; a worthy reward for the noble disinterestedness he had shown upon another occasion, in bringing home to his country twelve hundred talents ‡ of booty taken from the enemy, without the least deduction for himself. He could bear no longer the sight of an ungrateful city, and being too poor to pay so great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people, touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his son Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event sufficiently odd, those very walls, which his grandsather

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^{*} Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis adversarius, invidus etiam potentiæ, domum revocat. Cor. Nep.

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had rebuilt with the fpoils of the enemy, the grandson, to the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expence.

(x) Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself before the judges. It was upon this occasion, that Aristophon, another Athenian captain, accused him of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the considence an established reputation inspires, asked him, Would you have committed a treason of this nature? No, replied Aristophon, I am a man of too much honour for such an action! How! replied Iphicrates, could Iphicrates do what Aristophon would not do?

(y) He did not only employ the force of arguments in his defence, he called in also the affistance of arms. Infiructed by his colleague's ill success, he saw plainly that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince his judges. He posted round the place where they assembled a number of young persons, armed with poinards, which they took care to show from time to time. They could not resist so forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him acquitted of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding; I had been a fool, indeed, said he, if having made war successfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing so for myself.

Chares, by the recall of his two colleagues, was left fole general of the whole army, and was in a condition to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in the Hellespont, if he had known how to resist the magnificant offers of Artabasus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Asia Minor against the king of Persia his master, belieged by an army of seventy thousand men, and just upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his prices, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no houghts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the affishance of Artabasus, effectually relieved him, and actived a reward suitable to the service. This action of chares was treated as a capital crime. He had not only

⁽x) Arift Rhet. I. ii. c. 23. (y) Polyen. Stratag. I. iii.

abandoned the service of the republick for a foreign war, but offended the king of Persia, who threatened by his ambassadors to equip three hundred sail of ships in favour of the islanders allied against Athens. The credit of Chares saved him again upon this, as it had done several times before on like occasions. The Athenians, intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themselves seriously

to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this treaty to them in a fine discourse (z), which is still extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demoithenes in almost all his orations, of abandoning themselves blindly to the infinuations of orators, who flatter their passions, whilst they treat those with contempt, who give them the most falutary counsels. He applies himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power, and dominion over the people of Greece, which had been the fource of all their misfortunes. He recalls to their remembrance those happy days, fo glorious for Athens, in which their anceltors, out of a noble aed generous difinterelledness, facrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty, and the prefervation of Greece, and compares them with the prefent fad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had fucceffively plunged both states into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not consist in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice; but in the wile government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. " A state, " (fays he) cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its " neighbours, when it knows how to unite in all its "measures the two great qualities, justice and power,

(x) De pace, seu socialis.

which mutually support each other, and ought to be

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"inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the motives of reason and justice, has recourse to the most
violent methods to crush and subvert whatever opposes
it; so justice, when unarmed and without power, is
exposed to injury, and neither in a condition to defend itself, nor protect others." The conclusion
drawn by Isocrates from this reasoning, is, That Athens,
if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought not to
affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over
all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby
every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment
of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcileable
enemies of those who should presume to disturb that
peace, or contravene such measures.

(a) The peace was concluded accordingly under fuch conditions, and it was stipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Cos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner after having continued

three years.

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SECT. III. DEMOSTHENES encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of ARTAXERXES for war. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of MAUSOLUS. Extraordinary grief of ARTEMISA his wife.

(b) THIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage, and they were afraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which the king covered his real design.

Athens took the alarm upon this rumour. The orators increased the sears of the people by their discourses, and exhorted them to have an immmediate recourse to their arms, to prevent the king of Persia by a previous decla-

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⁽a) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. (b) A. M. 3649, Ant. J. C. 355.

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ration of war, and to make a league with all the people of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in publick at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion. He was twenty-eight years of age. I shall speak more extensively of him by and by. Upon the present occafion, more wife than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the republick of the aid of the Perfians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner their advice, lest he should render himself suspected; but, admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not confistent with prudence, in an affair of such great consequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper, by a resolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was necessary at prefent, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred fail (in what manner he proposed a * scheme) and to hold the troops in a readiness and condition to make an effectual and vigorous defence, in case of being attacked; that by so doing, all the people of Greece, without further invitation, would be fufficiently apprifed of the common danger to join them; and that the report alone of fuch an armament would be enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting he should have formed any defigns against Greece.

For the rest, he was not of opinion, that it was necessary to levy an immediate tax upon the estates of private persons for the expence of this war, which would not amount to a great sum, nor suffice for the occasion. "It is better (faid he) to rely upon the zeal and generosity of the citizens. Our city may be said to be almost as ir rich as all the other cities of Greece together." (He

^{*} I referve this scheme for the ner the Athenians fitted out, and seventh section, being curious, and subsisted their fleets. very proper to explain in what man-

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had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to fix thousand talents, about eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) "When we shall "fee the reality and approach of the danger, every body will be ready to contribute to the expences of the war; as nobody can be so void of reason, as to prefer the hazard of losing their whole estate with their liberty, to facrificing a small part of it to their own, and their country's preservation.

"And we ought not to fear, as some people would infinuate, that the great riches of the king of Persia enabled him to raise a great body of auxiliaries, and render his army formidable against us. Our Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt, or Orontes and the other Barbarians, serve willingly under the Persians; but not one of them, I dare be assured, not a single man of them, will ever resolve to bear arms against Greece."

This discourse had all its effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator in advising the imposition of a tax to be deferred, and artfully explaining, at the same time, that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other soundation than in the overheated imagination of some orators, who were perhaps interested in the war they advised.

monians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave Demosthenes another oportunity to signalise his zeal, and display his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved therefore to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who, without doubt, had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection: the other people concerned

⁽c) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. 1. xv. p. 401.

concerned fent also their deputies thither, and the affait

was debated before the people.

(d) Demosthenes founded his discourse from the beginning of it upon this principle; that it was of the last importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give law to the rest of Greece. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedemonians, they will foon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and The alliance we shall make keep it within due bounds. with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preferve so necessary a balance between Sparta and Thebes; because whatever happens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilft the Arcadians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to those of either of them.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes, was the alliance actually subsisting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, faid the orators who opposed Demosthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, it we change in such a manner with the times, or is it confistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought," (replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place) " we * ought indeed " always to have justice in view, and to make it the rule " of our conduct; but, at the same time, our conformity " to it should confist with the publick good and the inte-" rest of the state. It has been a perpetual maxim with " us to affift the oppressed." (He cites the Lacedamonians themselves, the Thebans and Eubœans as exam-"We have never varied from this principle. " The reproach of changing therefore ought not to fall " upon us, but upon those, whose injustice and usurpation " oblige us to declare against them."

* (d) Demost. Orat. pro Megalop.

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I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determines them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. Their discourse is an effect of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are sew who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also sew, who observe it with fidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of, nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states, is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

(e) The Athenians, moved by the eloquent discourse of Demosthenes, sent three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of * Pammenes. Megalopolis was re-instated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired

The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who had assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publickly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty-four years. (f) Artemisa his wife succeeded him, and as she was supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.

In speaking here of Artemisa, it is proper to observe,

⁽e) Diod. 1. xv. p. 402. (f) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 435. A. M. 365, Aut. J. C. 354.

* This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.

that she must not be confounded with another Artemisa, who lived above an hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished her resolution and prudence so much in the naval battle of Salamin. Several celebrated writers have fallen into this error, through inadvertency.

(g) This princes immortalised herself by the honours she rendered to the memory of Mausolus her husband. She caused a magnificent monument to be erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the Mausoleum, and for its beauty was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, and gave the name of Mausoleum to all suture great

and magnificent structures of the same kind.

(b) She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Maufolus by other monuments, which she believed more duable than those of brass or marble, but are often no better proof against the injuries of time; I mean works of with She caused excellent panegyricks to be made in honour of her husbaod, and proposed a prize of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Amongst many others, the celebrated Isocrates, and Theopompus, his disciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in publick of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the same of sine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus in his history as a prince most fordidly avaritious, to whom all means of amassing treasure were good and eligible. He painted him, without doubt, in very different colours in his panegyrick, or

else he would never have pleased the princess.

(i) That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus, than that I have been speaking of. Having gathered his ashes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, the mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drank it all off; desiring by that means to make

(b) Aul. Gel. l. x. c. 18. Plut. in Isocrat. p. 838.
(i) Cic. Tusc. Quest. l. iii. n. 75. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.

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make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Instead of tears, in which most writers plunge Arte. mifa during her widowhood, there are fome who fay the made very confiderable conquests. (k) It appears by one of Demosthenes's orations, that she was not considered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have fomething more decifive upon this head. (1) Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Maufolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman should reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpose with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnassus. The queen being informed of their defign, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express by shouts and clapping of hands a readiness to furrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the publick place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemifa came out with her gallies from the little port through a fmall canal, which the had caufed to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seised the enemy's fleet without refultance, and having put her foldiers and mariners on board of it, the fet fail. The Rhodians, having no means of escaping, were all put to the sword. The queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants law their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raifed great shouts, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was so in effect, but in another sense than they imagined. Artemifa, having met with no refistance, took poslession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and fet up two statues of brass; one of which reprefented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisa, branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians VOL. V.

⁽k) Demost. de Libertat. Rhod. p. 145.
(1) Vitruv. de Architect. 1. ii. c. 8.

dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they furrounded it with a building which pre-

vented it entirely from being feen.

All this, as Monsieur Bayle observes in his Dictionary, does not express a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that whatever is reported of excessive in the mourning of Artemisa, has no other foundation, but its being advanced at a venture by some writer, and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased for the honour of Artemisa, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her sex has many examples, she had known how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation. (m) Negotia pro solatiis accipiens.

(n) The Rhodians being treated by Artemifa in the manner we have related, and unable to support any longer fo fevere and shameful a fervitude, they had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection. they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demosthenes took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with fetting forth their crime in its full light; he enlarged upon their injuffice and perfidy; he feemed to enter into the people's just fentiments of refentment and indignation, and it might have been thought was going to declare himself in the strongest terms against the Rhodians: but all this was only the art of the orator, to infinuate himself into his auditors opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary fentiments of goodness and compassion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the republick's protection. He fets before them the great maxims, which in all ages had constituted the glory of Athens; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate.

(m) Tacit. (n) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. Demonft. de Libert. Rhol.

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the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest; in showing the importance of delaring for a city, that favoured the democratick form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes: which is the substance of Demosthenes's discourse, intitled, For the liberty of the Rhodians.

(6) The death of Artemifa, which happened the fame year, it is very likely re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idriæus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had done Artemisa. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their sisters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their husbands in the throne in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

SECT. IV. Successful expedition of Ochus against Phanicia and Cyprus, and afterwards against Egypt.

CHUS meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to his obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independence. Whilst he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phænicia. (9) That people oppressed by the Persian governors, resolved to throw off o heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other paffage for that invalion but through Phænicia, this revolt was very seasonable for Nectanebis, who therefore fent Mentor the Rhodian to support the rebels, with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phoenicia his barrier, and to stop he Persians there. The Phoenicians took the field with hat re-inforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Ciliia, that had been fent against them, and drove the Perians entirely out of Phoenicia.

(r) The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phoenicians, feeing the good fuccess which had attended

⁽p) Strab. 1. xiv. p 656. (g) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 439. (p) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. (r) Ibid. p. 440, 441.

tended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus sent orders to Idrizus king of Caria, to make war against them; who soon after fitted out a fleet, and fent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the fon of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleafure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country, and the party he had there, made the king of Persia choose him very wisely to command in this expedition. They made a defcent in the island, where their army increased to double its number by the re-inforcements which came from Syria and Ci-The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, which was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the fiege of Salamin by fea and land. The island of Cyprus had at that time nine cities, confiderable enough to have each of them a petty But all those kings were however subjects of king. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independent.

Ochus having observed that the Egyptian war was always unsuccessful from the ill conduct of the generals sent thither, he resolved to take the care of it upon himself. But before he set out, he signified his desire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions,

and cease to make war upon one another.

It is a just matter of surprise, that the court of Persia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the establishment of a lasting union amongst them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy.

From the miscarriage of the enterprise against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and filver a more proper means for subjecting it than that of the sword, the Per-

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fins did not attack it with open force, but by the method of fecret intrigues. They conveyed confiderable furns into it privately, to corrupt the perfons of credit and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to deprive them of the leisure and means to invade themselves. They were particularly careful to declare sometimes for one, sometimes for another, in order to support a kind of balance amongst them, which put it out of the power of any of those republicks to aggrandise itself too much, and by that means to become formidable to Persia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe an universal peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms, to such as thould disobey. Persia, without doubt, did not take that resolution at a venture, and had its reasons to behave in

fuch a manner with regard to Greece.

Its design might be to soften their spirit by degrees, in disarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour, which spurred them on perpetually by noble emulation to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inertion and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and, in fine, to bring them into the number of those people, whom a quiet and esseminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardour, which combats and even dangers are apt to inspire.

The king of Persia who then reigned had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The samous retreat of the ten thousand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had left a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, as numerous as it was; and he well knew,

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a laftyed a that the intestine divisions of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, Ionia especially, and its neighbouring provinces. Now, the most certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great en-

terprises (s).

When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phoenicia, where he had an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him, and he sent secretly to Ochus, to make him offers not only of surrendering Sidon to him, but to serve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposal, upon which he engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and they surrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had set fire to their ships upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence, by removing all hope of any other security. When they saw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in the despair of their condition, they thut themselves up in their houses, and set them on sire. Forty thousand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The sate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, seeing himself master of Sidon, and having no further occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in persidy. At

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the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immenfely rich. The fire having melted the gold and filver, Ochus fold the cinders for a confiderable fum of money.

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The dreadful ruin of this city cast so great a terrour into the rest of Phænicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the king; Ochus made no great dissiculty in complying with their demands, because he would not lose the time there, he had so much occasion for in the execution of his projects against Egypt.

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thousand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had excused themfelves from furnishing him any at that time; it being impossible for them to do it, whatever desire they might have, as they said, to cultivate a good correspondence with the king. The Thebans sent him a thousand men under the command of Lachares: the Argives three thousand under Nicostratus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All these troops joined him immediately after the taking of Sidon.

(t) The Jews must have had some share in this war of the Phoenicians against Persia. For Sidon was no sooner taken, than Ochus entered Judæa, and besieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Jewish captives into Egypt, and sent many others into Hyrcania, where he settled them along the coast of the Caspian sea.

(u) Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus at the same time. That of Egypt so entirely engrossed his attention, that in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was satisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who submitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little states. Evagoras demanded to be re-instated in the kingdom of Salamin. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign,

⁽¹⁾ Solon. c. xxxv. Euseb, in Chron. &c. (u) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 443.

and that he had not been unjustly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and the king gave Evagoras a remote government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was feifed, and put to death. Surprising difference between Nicocles and his fon Evagoras!

(x) After the reduction of the ifle of Cyprus, and the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length to-

wards Egypt.

Upon his arrival, he encamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian with equal authority. The first was under Dachares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia. The second was given to Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes one of the great officers of the crown. The third had Menfor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs, at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at first, to wait events, and to be ready to support those troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might have.

Nectanebis had long expected this invalion, the preparations for which had made fo much noise. He had an hundred thousand men on foot, twenty thousand of whom were Greeks, twenty thousand Lybians, and the rest of Egyptian troops. Part of them he bestowed in the places upon the frontiers, and posted himself with the relt in the palles, to dispute the enemy's entrance into Egypt. Ochus's first detachment was fent against Pelufium, where there was a garrifon of five thousand Greeks. Lachares befreged the place. That under Nicostratus, on board of four-and-twenty thips of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and failed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themselves well in a camp, of which the fituation was very advantageous. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias,

(x) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 444, & 456.

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Clinias, a Greek of the Isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action enfued, in which Clinias with five thousand of his troops were killed, and

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This action decided the fuccess of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicostratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the hafte he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Pelufium, were apprized of this precipitate retreat, they believed all lost, and capitulated with Lachares, upon condition of being fent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without fuffering any injury in their persons or effects.

Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be spread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all those who would fubmit, to be treated with favour, and that fuch as made reliftance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Those poor people reported in their towns and villages what they. had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus seemed to confirm it, and the terrour was so great, that the garrisons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission.

(y) Nectanebis, having lost all hope of being able to defend himself, escaped with his treasures and best effects into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. was the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, fince whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke,

according to the prediction of Ezekiel (z).

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, difmantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and

(y) A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. (z) Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.

returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and especially with gold and silver, of which he carried away immense sums. He left the government of it to Phe-

rendates, a Persian of the first quality.

(a) Here Manethon finishes his commentaries, or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had written the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His book is often cited by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and several others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemæus Philadelphus king of Egypt, to whom he dedicates his work, of which * Syncellus has preserved us the abridgement.

Nectanebis lost the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Ageslaus, and afterwards supported in it by the valour and counsels of Diophantes the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedæmonian, who, whilst they had the command of his troops, and the direction of the war, had rendered his arms victorious over the Persians in all the enterprises they had formed against him. It is a pity we have no account of them, and that Diodorus is silent upon this head. That prince, vain from so many successes, imagined, in consequence, that he was become sufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs in person, and dismissed them to whom he was indebted for all those advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to discover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

(b) Ochus rewarded very liberally the fervice which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phoenicia, and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he had dismissed the other Greeks laden with his presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of an hundred † talents in money, besides

(a) Syncel. p. 256. Vost. de hist. Græc. 1. i. c. 14. (b) A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349. gove of t the mo

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^{*} George, a monk of Constanti- Tarasus, towards the end of the nople, so called from his being Syn-ninth century.

cellus, or vicar to the patriarch † An hundred thousand crowns.

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besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coasts of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generalistimo of all his armies on that side.

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabasus, who had married their fifter. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the revolt of Artabasus, and the victories he obtained over the king's troops. He was however overpowered at last, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his After this reconciliation, they rendered banishment. Ochus and his fucceffors fignal fervices; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his times, and no less excellent in the art of war. Neither did Mentor want his great merits, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-established every where the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience; fome he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of arms. In a word, he knew fo well how to take his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and re-instated the king's affairs in those pro-Vinces.

In the first year of the 108th Olympiad (c) died Plato, the samous Athenian philosopher. I shall defer speaking of him at present, that I may not interrupt the chain of the history.

SECT. V. Death of Ochus. Arses succeeds him, and is succeeded by DARIUS CODOMANUS.

(d) CHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during

(c) A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. (d) Diod. 1, xvi. p. 490.

the rest of his life, and lest the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas, and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them, so that the first had all the provinces of the Upper, and the latter all those of the Lower Asia under him.

After having reigned twenty-three years, (e) Ochus died of poison given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered it, he slattered himself, that it would have been in his power to have softened the destiny of the one, and protected the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things in regard to both, which the eunuch saw with extreme forrow, and always violently resented in his heart.

Ochus, not contented with having difmantled the cities, and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been faid, had befides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited, and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians, and in (f) derifion of their worship, he had caused the god Apis to be killed, that is, the facred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occasion for this last action was, (g) that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the shocking surname of the stupid animal, they found he resembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus faid that he would make them fenfible he was not an afs but a lion, and that the afs, whom they despited fo much, should eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and facrificed to an afs. After which he made his cooks drefs, and ferve him up to the officers of his household. This piece of wit incenfed Bagoas. As for the archives, he redeemed them afterwards, and fent them back to the places where it was the been do lieved, (h)

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⁽e) A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338. (f) Ælian, l. iv. c. 8. (g) Plut, de Isid. & Osir. p. 363.

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was the custom to keep them: but the affront which had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and it is believed, that was the real occasion of his master's death.

(b) His revenge did not stop there; he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's, and to avenge his having made the officers of the house eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that some new cause had awakened in the heart of this monster his ancient resentment; without which, it is not to be conceived, that he could carry his barbarity so far in regard to his master and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all power was at that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king's sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess with better security, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of king, whilst he reserved to himself the whole power of the sovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to discover his wickedness, and took measures to punish it, he prevented him by having him assassing and destroyed his whole family with him.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arfes, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomanus, of whom much will be faid hereafter.

We see here in a full light the sad effect of the ill policy of the knigs of Persia, who, to ease themselves of the weight of publick business, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more address and understanding than the rest, and thereby merit some distinction. It is the duty of a wise prince to distinguish merit; but it is as consistent for him to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince, like Ochus, who had made the greatest crimes

his steps for ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have such a minister as Bagoas, who vied with his master in persidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their first essects. Had he desired to have nothing to sear from him, he should not have been so imprudent to render him sormidable, by giving him an unlimited power.

SECT. VI. Abridgment of the life of DEMOSTHENES to his appearance with honour and applause in the publick assemblies against Philip of Macedon.

A S Demosthenes will have a great part in the history of Philip and Alexander, which will be the subject of the ensuing volume, it is necessary to give the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him know by what means he cultivated, and to what a degree of perfection he carried his talent of eloquence; which made him more aweful to Philip and Alexander, and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest

military virtue could have done.

(i) That orator, born * two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourfcore before Cicero, was not the fon of a dirty smokey blacksmith as † Juvenal would seem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got considerably by forges. Not that the birth of Demosthenes could derogate in the least from his reputation, whose works are an higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. (k) Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty slaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or sifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, and those were each of them worth

(i) A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381. Plut in Demost. p. 847-849. (k) In Orat. i. cont. Aphob. p. 896.

* The fourth year of the ninty-ninth Olympiad.

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⁺ Quem pater ardentis masse suligine lippus,
A carbone & forcipibus, gladiosque parente
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an hundred crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the ancients confifted in flaves. Those forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred crowns. To this first manufactory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at two minæ, or an hundred livres (1).

Demosthenes's father died possessed of an estate of fourteen talents (m). He had the missortune to fall into the hands of fordid and avaritious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortune. They carried that base spirit so far as to resuse their pupil's masters the reward due to them: so that he was not educated with the care, which so excellent a genius as his required; besides which the weakness of his constitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the excessive fondness of a mother that doated upon him, prevented his masters

from obliging him to apply much to his fludies.

The school of Isocrates*, in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens. But whether the avarice of Demosthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high (n), or that the soft and peaceful eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste, at that time he studied under Isæus, whose character was strength and vehemence. He found means however to get the principles of rhetorick taught by the former: but † Plato in reality contributed the most in forming Demosthenes; he read his works with great application, and received lessons from him also; and it is easy to distinguish in the writings of the disciple, the noble and sublime air of the master.

(!) About 41. 10s. (m) Fourteen hundred crowns. (n) About 221. 10s.

fermonis. Cic. in Brut. n. 121.

Illud jusjurandum, per cæfos in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores Reip. fatis manifesto docet, præceptorem ejus Platonem suisse. Quint, l. xli, c. 10.

^{*} Isocrates—cujus è ludo tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. De Orat. n. 94. † Lectativisse Platonem studiose,

audivisse etiam, Demosthenes dicitur: idque apparet ex genere & granditate

(0) But he foon quitted the schools of Isæus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction; I mean, to frequent the bar, of which this was the occasion. The orator Callistratus was appointed to plead the cause of the city Oropus, fituated between Boeotia and Attica. Chabrias, having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great diffress, they haftened thither, and delivered them from the enemy. Thebans, forgetting to great a fervice, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. (p) Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treason upon this occasion. Callistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause, excited curiofity, and made a great noise in the city. (q) Demosthenes, who was then fixteen years of age, earnestly entreated his masters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be prefent at fo famous a tryal. The orator was heard with great attention, and having had extraordinary fuccess, was attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who feemed to vie with each other in praising and admiring The young man was extremely affected with the honours, which he faw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme power of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects; and not being able to refift its charms, he gave himself wholly up to it, from henceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures, and during the continuance of Callistratus at Athens, he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill success. He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, and a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long, that he

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⁽o) Aul. Gel. 1. iii. c. 13. (p) Demost. in Midi. p. 613. (q) A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 356.

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was often obliged to stop in the midst of them for respiration. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience; from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himself incapable. One of his auditors, who had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a fecond time before the people, and was no better received than before. he withdrew, hanging down his head, and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of thole times, who was his friend, met him, and having learned from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he affured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not so desperate as he imagined. He defired him only to repeat some of Sophocles or Euripides's verses to him, which he accordingly Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gefture, and spirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him understand the value, seem almost incredible, and prove, that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. (r) He stammered to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters, amongst others, that with which the name of the art * he studied begins; and he was so short-breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He overcame these obstacles at length by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses in that manner without interruption; and that walking, and going up steep and

⁽r) Cie. 1. i. de Orat. n. 260, 261.

^{*} Rhetorick.

difficult places, fo that at last no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. (s) He went also to the sea-side, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues, to accustom himself, by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of publick assemblies.

(t) Demosthenes took no less care of his action than of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in the house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in publick. To correct a fault, which he had contracted by an ill habit of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbert in such a manner, that if in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well beltowed; for it was by this means, that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of perfection of which it was capable; whence, it is plain, he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times, which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than Pronunciation; infinuating, by making that reply * three times fucceffively, that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other defects; and that pronunciation alone could give confiderable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the most excellent could not hope the least success. He must have had a very high opinion of it, as to attain a perfection in it, and for the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted fo confiderable

(s) Quintil. 1. x. c. 3.

* Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac fummus orator effe in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus summos sæpe superare.

(t) Ibid. 1. xi. c. 3.

Huic primas dediffe Demosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas, huic tertias, Cic. de Orat. 1. iii. n. 215. a firm very ri

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very rich. His application to study was no less surprising. To be the more removed from noise, and less subject to distraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under ground, in which he fometimes that himself up for whole months, thaving on purpose half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a fmall lamp, he composed the admirable orations, which were faid by those, who envied him, to fmell of the oil; to imply that they were too elaborate. " It is plain (replied he) yours did not cost you fo much trouble." * He rose very early in the morning, and used to fay, that he was forry when any workman was at business before him. (x) We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind, from the pains he took in copying Thucydides's history eight times with his own hand, in order to render the stile of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in feveral private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon the publick affairs; with what fuccess we shall fee hereafter. Cicero + tells us that fuccess was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demolthenes speak; and he adds, that merit, so great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence (y); I have enlarged fufficiently upon that elsewhere; I only confider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip upon this head, of which he is

⁽u) About 2401. flerling. (x) Lucian. Advers. Indoct. p. 639.

^{*} Cui non funt auditæ Demoi- non modo ita memori thenes vigiliæ? qui dolere se alebat fi quando opificum ante lucana victus effet industria. Tufe. Quaft. 1. iv.

[†] Ne illud quidem intelligunt,

non modo ita memoriæ proditum este, sed ita necesse suisse, cum Demothenes dicturus effet, ut concurfus, audiendi caufa, ex tota Græcia fierent. In Brut, n. 230.

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is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority (2), the eloquence of Demosthenes alone did him more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athenians. His harangues, he faid, were like machines of war, and batteries raifed at a distance against him; by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprifes, without its being possible to prevent their effect. " For I myself, " (fays Philip of him) had I been present, and heard that " vehement orator declaim, should have concluded the " first, that it was indispensably necessary to declare war " against me." No city seemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it! But he confessed, that to his forrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inacceffible to his prefents. After the battle of Chæronea, Philip, though victor, was struck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger, to which that orator, by the powerful league he had been the fole cause of forming against him, exposed himself and his kingdom.

(a) Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. "I " value not (faid he) the Piræeus, the gallies, and armies " of the Athenians: for what have we to fear from a peo-" ple continually employed in games, feafts, and Bac-" chanals? Demosthenes alone gives me pain. With-" out him the Athenians differ in nothing from the mean-" est people of Greece. He alone excites and animates "them. It is he that rouses them from their lethargy " and stupefaction, and puts their arms and oars into " their hands almost against their will: incessantly repre-" fenting to them the famous battles of Marathon and " Salamin, he transforms them into new men by the ar-" dour of his discourses, and inspires them with incredi-" ble valour and fortitude. Nothing escapes his pene-" trating eyes, nor his confummate prudence. He fore-" fees all our defigns, he countermines all our projects, " and difconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens en-

⁽²⁾ Luciar. in Encom. Demost. p. 940, 941 (a) Ibid. p. 934-936.

" tirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we were undone without remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. All the

" gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that

" of Persia did formerly to Aristides."

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He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in his just defence against Æschines, his acculer and declared enemy. "Whilst all the orators " have fuffered themselves to be corrupted by the presents " of Philip and Alexander, it is well known (fays he) that " neither delicate conjunctures, engaging expressions, " magnificent promiles, hope, fear, favour, any thing in " the world have ever been able to induce me to give up " the least right or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had folely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The fequel will show how well he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to afcend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the statesman, to enter upon the administration of the publick affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprises of Athens against

Philip of Macedon.

SECT. VII. Digression upon the manner of fitting out sleets by the Athenians, and the exemptions and other marks of honour granted by that city to such as had rendered it great services.

THE subject of this digression ought properly to have had place in that part of the preceding volume where I have treated of the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time, I had not the orations of Demosthenes which speak of them in my thoughts.

thoughts. It is a deviation from the chain of the history which the reader may easily turn over if he thinks fit.

The word Trierachs (b) fignifies no more in itself than commanders of gallies. But those cities were also called Trierarchs, who were appointed to fit out the gallies in time of war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, or at least with part of them.

They were chosen out of the richest of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and even ten Trierarchs were appointed

to equip one vessel.

(c) At length the number of Trierarchs was established at twelve hundred in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. An hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe were nominated to furnish the expences of these armaments; and thus each tribe furnishing six score, the number of the Trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.

Those twelve hundred men were again divided into two parts, of six hundred each; and those six hundred subdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The first three hundred were chosen from amongst such as were richest. Upon pressing occasions they advanced the necessary expences, and were re-imbursed by the other three hundred, who paid their proportion, as the state of their

affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each confisting of fixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and equally unjust at bottom; as it decreed that this number of fixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained that all citizens from twenty-five to forty, should be included in one of these companies, and contribute one sixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to supply an expence

(t) Temagx . (c) Ulpia

(c) Ulpian. in Olynth. ii. p. 33.

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pence fo much above their power. From whence it happened, that the fleet was either not armed in time, or very ill fitted out; by which means Athens loft the most favourable opportunities for action.

(d) Demolthenes, always intent upon the publick good, to remedy these inconveniencies, proposed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the Trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but by the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whose estate amounted to ten talents *, was obliged to fit out one galley, and if to twenty talents, two; and fo on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were necessary to complete that fum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wifer than this law of Demosthenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the fleet was fitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary; the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it. For instead of contributing only a fixteenth, as by the first law, they were formetimes obliged by the fecond to equip a galley, and fometimes two or more according to the amount of

their eftates.

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The rich were in consequence very much offended at Demosthenes upon this regulation; and it was, without doubt, an instance of no small courage in him to difregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies, as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himself, " (e) Seeing (says he, speaking to "the Athenians) your maritime affairs are in the greatest " decline, the rich possessed of an immunity purchased at a " very low rate, the citizens of middle or fmall fortunes eat " up with taxes, and the republick itself, in consequence " of these inconveniencies, never attempting any thing till " too late for its fervice; I had the courage to establish a " law, whereby the rich are restrained to their duty, the " poor relieved from oppression, and, what was of the " highest

⁽d) Domost. in Orat. de Classib. (e) Demost. pro Ctesp. p. 419. * Ten thousand crowns.

"highest importance, the republick enabled to make the necessary preparations of war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the proposing of this law, or at least to have sufferended its execution: but he did not suffer himself to be swayed either by their threats or promises, and continued firm to the publick good.

Not having been able to make him change his resolution, they contrived a stratagem to render it inessectual. For it was without doubt at their instigation, that a certain person, named Patroclus, cited Demosthenes before the judges, and prosecuted him juridically as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuser, having only the fifth part of the voices on his side, was according to custom fined five hundred drachmas *, and Demosthenes acquitted of the charge; who relates this circumstance himself.

It is doubtful, whether at Rome, especially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn. For we see, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the quarrel arose, it never was possible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprising than those of Athens, to renounce the possession of the lands, which they had usurped in manifest contravention of the institutions of the state. The law of Demosthenes was approved and confirmed by the senate and people.

We find, from what has been faid, that the Trierarchs fitted out the gallies and their equipage at their own expence. The state paid the mariners and foldiers, generally at the rate of three Oboli, or five-pence a day, as has been observed elsewhere. The officers had greater pay.

The Trierarchs commanded the vessel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them to a ship, each commanded six months.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their administration, and delivered a state of the vessel's equipage to their successor, or the republick. The successor was obliged to go immediately

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and fill up the vacant place; and if he failed to be at his post by a time assigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

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As the charge of Trierarch was very expensive, those who were nominated to it, were admitted to point out some other person richer than themselves, and to demand that they should be put into their place; provided they were ready to change estates with such person, and to act in the function of Trierarch after fuch exchange. This law was instituted by Solon, and was called the law of exchanges.

Besides the equipment of gallies, which must have amounted to very great fums, the rich had another charge to support in the time of war; that was the extraordinary taxes and imposts laid on their estates; upon which, sometimes the hundreth, fometimes a fiftieth, and even a twelfth were levied, according to the different occasions of the state.

(f) Nobody at Athens, upon any pretence what soever, could be exempted from these two charges, except the Novemviri, or nine Archontes, who were not obliged to ht out gallies. So that we see, without ships or money, the republick was not in a condition either to support wars, or defend itself,

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to fuch as had rendered great fervices to the republick, and sometimes even to all their descendants: for as maintaining publick places of exercise with all things necessary for such as frequented them; instituting a publick feast for one of the ten tribes; and defraying the expences of games and shows; all which amounted to great fums.

These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour and rewards of fervices rendered the state; as well as statues which were erected to great men, the freedom of the city, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the publick expence. The view of

Athens in these honourable distinctions was to express VOL. V.

⁽¹⁾ Demost, ad verf. Lept, p. 545.

their high fense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all publick employments, and en-

joyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

(g) As Aristides died without any estate, and left his son Lysimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republick gave him an hundred acres of wood, and as much arable land in Eubœa, besides an hundred minæ * at one payment, and sour drachmas, or forty pence a day.

(b) Athens, in these services which were done it, regarded more the good-will than the action itself. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicerdus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he faw ready to expire for want of food, diffributed an hundred minæ amongst them; that is, about two hundred and forty pounds. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after, in the war against the thirty tyrants, the same Epicerdus gave the city a talent t. These were but small matters on either occafion with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were infinitely affected with the good heart of a stranger, who without any view of interest, in a time of publick calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for the relief of those, with whom he had no affinity, and from whom he had nothing to expect.

(i) The fame freedom of the city of Athens granted an exemption from customs to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and his children, because they yearly imported from the lands of that prince a considerable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, subsisting almost entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon,

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⁽b) Ibid. p. 757

Twenty-two pounds tenshillings. + Athousand crowns.

(i) Demosth. in Orat. ad Lep. p. 545. 546.

in his turn, not to be outdone in generofity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of fupplying themselves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a considerable sum. For they brought only from thence two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almost seventy thousand.

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The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from publick offices. The names only of those illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person however, called Leptinus, out of a mistaken zeal for the publick good, proposed the abrogation by a new law of all the grants of that kind, which had been made from immemorial time; except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact, that for the future the people should not be capable of granting such privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great complacency to the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more efficacious manner of resuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator suspected, who decries his cause himself, and shows its weak side, by substituting injurious terms for reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

After having shown, that so odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the republick, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted persons; he goes on to explain its conveniences, and to set them in a full light.

"It is first (says he) doing injury to the memory of those great men, whose merit the state intended to active knowledge and reward by such immunities; it is in some measure calling in question the services they have

done their country; it is throwing a suspicion upon their great actions, injurious to, if not destructive of, their glory. And were they now alive and present in

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" this affembly, which of us all would prefume to offer " them fuch an affront? Should not the respect we owe

" their memories make us confider them as always alive

" and prefent?

"But if we are little affected with what concerns " them, can we be insensible to our own interest? Be-" fides, that cancelling fo ancient a law is to condemn " the conduct of our ancestors, what shame shall we bring " upon ourselves, and what an injury shall we do our " reputation? The glory of Athens, and of every well-" governed state, is to value itself upon its gratitude, to " keep its word religiously, and to be true to all its en-" gagements. A private person who fails in these re-" spects, is hated and abhorred; and who is not afraid of " being reproached with ingratitude? And shall the " commonwealth, in cancelling a law that has received " the fanction of publick authority, and been in a manner " confecrated by the usage of many ages, be guilty of so " notorious a prevarication? We prohibit lying in the very markets under heavy penalties, and require truth " and faith to be observed in them; and shall we renounce " them ourselves by the revocation of grants, passed in all "their forms, and upon which every private man has a " right to insist.

"To act in fuch a manner, would be to extinguish in " the hearts of our citizens all emulation for glory, all defire to diffinguish themselves by great exploits, all " zeal for the honour and welfare of their country; which " are the great fources and principles of almost all the actions of life. And it is to no purpose to object the example of Sparta and Thebes, which grant no fuch exemptions: do we repent our not refembling them in many things; and is there any wisdom in proposing

" their defects, and not their virtues for our imitation?" Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it but those who had a just title to them; and that a strict enquiry should be made for that purpose.

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It is plain that I have only made a very flight extract in this place of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without confining myself to the method and expressions of it.

There was a meanness of spirit in Leptinus's desiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republick by retrenching the moderate expences that were an honour to it, and no charge to himself, whilst there were other abuses of

far greater importance to reform.

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Such marks of publick gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate also in a state an ardent zeal for its happiness, and a warm desire to distinguish that passion by glorious actions. It is not without pain I find amongst ourselves, that part of the privileges, granted to the samily of the Maid of Orleans, have been retrenched. (k) Charles VII. had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their descendants, even by the semale line. In 1614, at the request of the attorney-general, the article of nobility by the women was retrenched.

(k) Mezerai.

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BOOK

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THE

HISTORY

P H I L I P.

SECT. I. The birth and infancy of PHILIP. Beginning of his reign. His first conquests. The birth of ALEXANDER.

ACEDON was an hereditary kingdom, fituated in ancient Thrace, and bounded on the fouth by the mountains of Theffaly; on the east by Boeotia and Pieria; on the west by the Lyncestes; and on the north by Mygdonia and Pelagonia. But after Philip had conquered part of Thrace and Illyrium, this kingdom extended from the Adriatick sea to the river Strymon. Edessa was at first the capital of it, but afterwards resigned that honour to Pella, samous for giving birth to Philip and Alexander.

Philip, whose history we are going to write, was the son of Amyntas II. who is reckoned the fixteenth king of Macedon from Caranus, who had sounded that kingdom about sour hundred and thirty years before; that is, Anno Mundi 3212, and before Christ 794. The history of all these monarchs is sufficiently obscure, and includes little more than several wars with the Illyrians, the Thracians, and other neighbouring people.

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The kings of Macedon pretended to descend from Hercules by Caranus, and confequently to have been Greeks originally. Notwithstanding this, Demosthenes often stiles them Barbarians, especially in his invectives against Philip. The Greeks, indeed, gave this name to all other nations, without excepting the Macedonians. (k) Alexander, king of Macedon, in the reign of Xerxes, was excluded, upon pretence of his being a Barbarian, from the Olympick games; and was not admitted to share in them, till after having proved his being originally (1) The above-mentioned Alexdescended from Argos. ander, when he went over from the Persian camp to that of the Greeks, in order to acquaint the latter, that Mardonius was determined to charge them by furprife at daybreak, justified his perfidy by his ancient descent, which he declared to be from the Greeks.

The ancient kings of Macedon did not think it beneath themselves to live at different times under the protection of the Athenians, Thebans, and Spartans, changing their alliances as it suited their interest. Of this we have several instances in Thucydides. One of them, named Perdiccas, with whom the Athenians were distaissied, became their tributary; which continued from their settling a colony in Amphipolis, under Agnon the son of Nicias, about forty-eight years before the Peloponnesian war, till Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian general, about the sisth or sixth year of that war, raised that whole province against them, and drove them from the frontiers of

Macedon.

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We shall soon see this Macedon, which formerly had paid tribute to Athens, become, under Philip, the arbiter of Greece: and triumph, under Alexander, over all the forces of Asia.

(m) Amyntas, father of Philip, began to reign the third year of the ninety-fixth Olympiad. Having the very year after been warmly attacked by the Illyrians, and dispossessed of a great part of his kingdom, which he thought it scarce possible for him ever to recover again,

⁽⁴⁾ Herod. 1. v. c. 22. (1) Idem, Lix. c. 44. (11) A. M. 3606.
Ant. J. C. 398. Diod. 1. xiv.p. 307. 341.

he addressed himself to the Olynthians; and in order to engage them the more firmly in his interest, he had given up to them a confiderable track of land in the neighbour. hood of their city. According to some authors, Argaus, who was of the blood-royal, being supported by the Athenians, and taking advantage of the troubles which broke out in Macedonia, reigned there two years (m). Amyntas was restored to the Throne by the Thessalians; upon which he was defirous of refuming the possession of the lands, which nothing but the ill fituation of his affairs had obliged him to refign to the Olynthians. This occasioned a war; but Amyntas, not being strong enough to make head fingly against fo powerful a people, the Greeks and the Athenians in particular fent him fuccour, and enabled him to weaken the power of the Olynthians, who threatened him with a total and impending ruin. (n) It was then that Amyntas, in an affembly of the Greeks, to which he had fent a deputation, engaged to unite with them to enable the Athenians to possess themfelves of Amphipolis, declaring that this city belonged to the last-mentioned people. This strong alliance was continued after his death with queen Eurydice, his widow, as we shall foon see.

(o) Philip, one of the fons of Amyntas, was born the fame year this monarch declared war against the Olynthians. This Philip was father of Alexander the Great; for we cannot distinguish him better than by calling him the father of such a son, as * Cicero observes of the father of Cato of Utica.

(p) Amyntas died, after having reigned twenty-four years. He left three legitimate children, whom Eury-dice had brought him, viz. Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural fon named Ptolemy.

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⁽m) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. (n) Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 400. (o) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. (p) A. M. 3629. Ant. J. C. 375. Diod. p. 373. Justin. l. vii. c. 4.

^{*} M. Cato sententiam dixit hujus progenuit, ex filio est nominandus, nostri Catonis pater. Ut enim cæteri De Offic. 1, iii. n. 66. ex patribus, sic hic, qui lumen illud

Aexander succeeded his father as eldest son. In the very beginning of his reign, he was engaged in a sharp war against the Illyrians, neighbours to, and perpetual enemies of, Macedonia. Concluding afterwards a peace with them, he put Philip, his younger brother, an infant, into their hands, by way of holtage, who was foon fent

back to him. Alexander reigned but one year.

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(q) The crown now belonged by right to Perdiccas, his brother, who was become eldest by his death; but Paufanias, a prince of the blood-royal, who had been exiled, disputed it with him, and was supported by a great number of Macedonians. He began by feiling foine fortresses. Happily for the new king, Iphicrates was then in that country, whither the Athenians had fent him with a small fleet; not to beliege Amphipolis as yet, but only to take a view of the place, and make the necestary preparations for belieging it. Eurydice hearing of his arrival, defired to fee him, intending to request his affiftance against Pausanias. When he was come into the palace, and had feated himfelf, the afflicted queen, the better to excite his compassion, takes her two children, Perdiccas and * Philip, and fets the former in the arms, and the latter on the knees of Iphicrates; the then fpoke thus to him: "Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, " the father of these unhappy orphans, had always a love " for your country, and adopted you for his fon. " double tie lays you under a double obligation. The " amity which that king entertained for Athens, requires " that you should acknowledge us publickly for your " friends; and the tenderness which that father had for " your person, claims from you the heart of a brother to " these children." Iphicrates, moved with this light and discourse, expelled the usurper, and restored the lawtul lovereign.

(r) Perdiccas + did not continue long in tranquillity. M 5

(q) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Æsch. de Fais. Legat. p. 399, 400.

(r) Plutarch, in Pelop. p. 292.

Philip was then not less than + Plutarch supposes, that it was with Alexander that Ptolemy distranine years ald.

A new enemy, more formidable than the first, soon invaded his repose: this was Ptolemy his brother, natural fon of Amyntas, as was before observed. He might possibly be the eldest son, and claim the crown as such, The two brothers referred the decision of their claim to Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, more revered for his probity than his valour. Pelopidas determined in favour of Perdiccas; and having judged it necessary to take pledges on both fides, in order to oblige the two competitors to observe the articles of the treaty accepted by them, among other hostages, he carried Philip with him to Thebes *, where he refided feveral years. He was then ten years of age. Eurydice, at her leaving this muchloved fon, earnestly befought Pelopidas to procure him an education worthy of his birth, and of the city to which he was going an hostage. Pelopidas placed him with Epaminondas, who had a celebrated Pythagorean philofopher in his house for the education of his son. Philip improved greatly by the instructions of his preceptor, and much more by those of Epaminondas, under whom he undoubtedly made some campaigns, though no mention is made of this. He could not possibly have had a more excellent master, whether for war or the conduct of life; for this illustrious Theban was at the same time a great philosopher, that is to say, a wife and virtuous man, and a great commander as well as a great statesman. Philip was very proud of being his pupil, and proposed him as a model to himself; most happy, could he have copied him perfectly! perhaps he borrowed from Epaminondas his activity in war, and his promptitude in improving occasions, which however formed but a very inconsiderable part of the merit of this illustrious personage: but with regard to his temperance, his justice, his difinterelledness,

ted the empire, which cannot be made to agree with the relation of Afchines, who being his contempotherefore thought proper to substitute Perdiceas instead of Alexander.

* Thebis triennio obses habitus,

prima pueritiæ rudimenta in urbe feveritatis antiquæ, & in domo Epaminondæ summi & philosophi & imperatoris, deposuit. Justin. I vii. c. v. Philip lived in Thebes m only three, but nine or ten years,

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his fincerity, his magnanimity, his clemency, which rendered him truly great, these were virtues which Philip had not received from nature, and did not acquire by imitation.

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The Thebans did not know that they were then forming and educating the most dangerous enemy of Greece. (s) After Philip had spent nine or ten years in their city, the news of a revolution in Macedon made him refolve to leave Thebes clandestinely. Accordingly he steals away, makes the utmost expedition, and finds the Macedonians greatly furprifed at having lost their king Perdiccas, who had been killed in a great battle by the Illyrians, but much more fo, to find they had as many enemies as neighbours. The Illyrians were on the point of returning into the kingdom with a greater force; the Propians infested it with perpetual incursions, the Thracians were determined to place Paufanius on the throne, who had not abandoned his pretentions; and the Athenians were bringing Argæus, whom Mantias their general was ordered to support with a strong fleet and a confiderable body of troops. Macedonia at that time wanted a prince of years to govern, and had only a child, Amyntas, the fon of Perdiccas, and lawful heir of the crown. Philip governed the kingdom for some time, by the title of guardian to the prince; but the subjects, justly alarmed, deposed the nephew in favour of the uncle; and instead of the heir, whom nature had given them, set him upon the throne whom the present conjuncture of affairs required; perfuaded that the laws of necessity are superior to all others. (t) Accordingly Philip, at twenty-four years of age, ascended the throne the first year of the 105th Olympiad.

The new king, with great coolness and presence of mind, used all his endeavours to answer the expectations of the people: accordingly he provides for, and remedies every thing, revives the desponding courage of the Macedonians, and re-instates and disciplines the army. (u) He M 6

(a) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 407. Justin. 1. vii. c. 5. (t) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360. Diod. 1. xvi. p. 404-413. (u) Ælian. 1. xiv. c. 49.

was inflexibly rigid in the last point, well knowing that the success of all his enterprises depended on it. A soldier, who was very thirsty, went out of the ranks to drink, which Philip punished with great severity. Another soldier, who ought to have stood to his arms, laid them down: him he immediately ordered to be put to death.

It was at this time he established the Macedonian phalanx, which afterwards became fo famous, and was the choicest and the best disciplined body of an army the world had ever feen, and might dispute precedecy in those respects with the Greeks of Marathon and Salamin. He drew up the plan, or at least improved it from the idea fuggested by (x) Homer. That poet describes the union of the Grecian commanders under the image of a battalion, the foldiers of which, by the affemblage or conjunction of their shields, form a body impenetrable to the enemy's darts. I rather believe that Philip formed the idea of the phalanx from the lessons of Epaminondas, and the facred battalion of the Thebans. He treated those chosen foot-soldiers with peculiar distinction, honoured them with the title of his * comrades or companions; and by fuch marks of honour and confidence induced them to bear, without any murmuring, the hardest fatigues, and to confront the greatest dangers with intrepidity. Such familiarities as these cost a monarch little, and are of no common advantage to him. I shall insert, at the end of this fection, a more particular description of the phalanx, and the use made of it in battles. I shall borrow from Polybius this description, the length of which would too much interrupt the Teries of our history; yet being placed feparately, may probably please, especially by the judicious reflections of a man fo well skilled in the art of war as that historian.

One of the first things Philip took care of, was, the negociating a captious peace with the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he was not willing to make his enemies, in the beginning of a reign hitherto but ill established.

(x) Illiad. N. v. 130.

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ut ill hed. established. He therefore sends ambassadors to Athens, spares neither promises nor protestations of amity, and at last was so happy as to conclude a treaty, of which he knew how to make all the advantages he had proposed to himself.

Immediately after this, he does not feem fo much to act like a monarch of but twenty-four years of age, as like a politician profoundly verfed in the art of diffimulation; and who, without the affiftance of experience, was already fensible, that to know when to lose at a proper season is to gain. (y) He had seised upon Amphipolis, a city situated on the frontiers of his kingdom, which confequently stood very convenient for him. He could not keep it, as that would have weakened his army too much, not to mention that the Athenians, whose friendship it was his interest to preserve, would have been exasperated at his holding a place which they claimed as their colony. On the other fide, he was determined not to give up to his enemies one of the keys to his dominions. He therefore took the resolution to declare that place free, by permitting the inhabitants to govern themselves as a republick, and in this manner to fet them at variance with their ancient masters. At the same time he disarmed the Peonians by dint of promifes and prefents; refolving to attack them, after he had difunited his enemies, and weakened them by that difunion.

This address and subtlety established him more firmly on the throne, and he soon found himself without competitors. Having barred the entrance of his kingdom to Pausanias, he marches against Argæus, comes up with him in the road from Ægæ to Methone, deseats him, kills a great number of his soldiers, and takes a multitude prisoners; attacks the Peonians, and subjects them to his power: he afterwards turns his arms against the Illyrians, cuts them to pieces, and obliges them to restore to him

all the places possessed by them in Macedonia.

(z) Much about this time the Athenians acted with the greatest generosity in regard to the inhabitants of Eu-

⁽y) Polyzen. Stratag. l. iv. c. 17. (z) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

That island, which is separated from Boeotia by the Euripus, was fo called from its large and beautiful pasture lands, and is now called Negropont. (a) It had been subject to the Athenians, who had fettled colonies in Eretria and Chalcis, the two principal cities of it. Thucydides relates, that in the Peloponnesian war, the revolt of the Euboeans dismayed the Athenians very much, because they drew greater revenues from thence than from Attica. From that time Euboea became a prey to factions; and at the time of which we are now speaking, one of these factions implored the affistance of Thebes, and the other of Athens. At first the Thebans met with no obstacle, and easily made the faction they espoused triumphant. However, at the arrival of the Athenians, matters took a very different turn. Though they were very much offended at the Eubœans, who had behaved very injuriously towards them, nevertheless, senfibly affected with the great danger to which they were exposed, and forgetting their private refentments, they immediately gave them fuch powerful fuccour both by fea and land, that in a few days they forced the Thebans to retire. And now, being absolute masters of the island, they restore the inhabitants their cities and liberty, perfuaded, fays * Æschines, in relating this circumstance, that justice requires we should obliterate the remembrance of past injuries, when the party offending repose their trust in the offended. The Athenians, after having reflored Eubœa to its former tranquillity, retired, without defiring any other benefit for all their fervices, than the glory of having appealed the troubles of that illand.

But they did not always behave in this manner with regard to other states, and it was this gave rise to the war of the allies, of which I have spoken elsewhere.

(b) Hitherto Philip, that is, during the first years of his reign, had employed his endeavours to triumph over his competitors

(a) Vell. Paterc. I. i. c. iv. Thucyd. I. viii. p. 613. Demosth. pro Ctesiph. p. 489. Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 441. (b) A. M. 3646.

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competitors for the throne; to pacify domestick divisions, to repel the attacks of his foreign enemies, and to disable them, by his frequent victories, from troubling him in

the possession of his kingdom.

But he is now going to appear in another character. Sparta and Athens, after having long disputed the empire of Greece, had weakened themselves by their reciprocal This circumstance had given Thebes an opportunity of regaining its former grandeur; but Thebes, having weakened itself by the wars in which it had been engaged against Sparta and Athens, gave Philip an occasion of aspiring also in his turn to the sovereignty of Greece. And now, as a politician and a conqueror, he refolves how he may best extend his frontiers, reduce his neighbours, and weaken those whom he was not able to conquer at prefent; how he may introduce himself into the affairs of Greece, share in its intestine feuds, make himself its arbiter, join with one side to destroy the other; in a word, to obtain the empire over all. In the execution of this great design, he spared neither artifices, open force, presents, or promises. He employs for this purpose negotiations, treaties and alliances, and each of them fingly in fuch a manner as he judges most conducive to the fuccess of his design; advantage solely determining him in the choice of measures.

We shall always see him acting under this second character, in all the steps he takes henceforth, till he assumes a third and last character, which is, preparing to attack the great king of Persia, and endeavouring to become the avenger of Greece, by subverting an empire which before had attempted to subject it, and which had always continued its irreconcileable enemy, either by

open invasions or secret intrigues.

We have feen that Philip, in the very beginning of his reign, had feifed upon Amphipolis, because well fituated for his views; but that to avoid restoring it to the Athenians, who claimed it as one of their colonies, he had declared it a free city. But at this time, being no longer under such great apprehension from the Athenians,

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he refumed his former defign of feifing Amphipolis, (c) The inhabitants of this city being threatened with a heady fiege, fent ambassadors to the Athenians offering to put themselves and their city under the protection of Athens, and befeeching them to accept the keys of Am. phipolis. But that republick rejected their offer, for fear of breaking the peace they had concluded the preced. ing year with Philip. (d) However, this monarch was not fo delicate in this point; for he befieged and took Amphipolis by means of the intelligence he carried on in the city, and made it one of the strongest barriers of his kingdom. Demosthenes, in his Orations, frequently reproaches the Athenians with their indolence on this occasion, by representing to them, that had they acted at this time with the expedition they ought, they would have faved a confederate city, and spared themselves a multitude of misfortunes.

(e) Philip had promifed the Athenians to give up Amphipolis into their hands, and by this promife had made them supine and inactive; but he did not value himself upon keeping his word, and sincerity was in no manner the virtue he professed. So far from surrendering this city, he also possessed himself of * Pydna and of + Potidæa. The Athenians kept a garrison in the latter; these he dismissed without doing them the least injury; and gave up this city to the Olynthians, to engage them

in his interest.

(f) From thence he proceeded to seise Crenides, which the Thasians had built two years before, and which he called Philippi from his own name. It was near this city, afterwards famous from the deseat of Brutus and Cassius, that he opened certain gold mines, which every year produced upwards of a thousand talents,

(c) Demosth Olynth. i. p. 2. (d) A. M. 3646 Ant. J. C. 358. Died. p. 412. (e) Ibid. (f) Diod. p. 413.

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^{*} Pydna, a city of Macedon, fituated on the gulph anciently called Sinus Thermaicus, and now Gulfo di Salogichi.

[†] Potidæa, another city of Macedonia, on the borders of ancient Thrace. It was but fixty fladia, or three leagues from Olinthus.

that is about an hundred and forty-four thousand pounds sterling; a prodigious sum of money in that age. By this means, money became much more current in Macedon than before; and Philip first caused the golden species to be coined there, which outlived * monarchy. Superiority of sinances is of endless advantage to a state; and no prince understood them better than Philip, or neglected them less. By this fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful army of foreigners, and to bribe a number of creatures in most of the cities of Greece.

(g) Demosthenes says, that when Greece was in its most flourishing condition, gold and silver were ranked in the number of prohibited arms. But Philip thought, spoke, and acted in a quite different manner. (h) It is said, that consulting the oracle of Delphos, he received

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'Αργυρέαις λόγχαισι μάχε και σάντα κρατήσεις.

Make coin thy weapons and thou'lt conquer all.

The advice of the priestess became his rule, and he applied it with great success. He owned, that he had carried more places by money than arms; that he never forced a gate till after having attempted to open it with a golden key: and that he did not think any fortress impregnable, into which a mule laden with silver could find

(g) Philip. iii. p. 92.

* Gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Chærilus, incultis qui versibus & male natis
Retulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos.

Horat. l. ii. Ep. ad August.

(b) Suidas.

Cherilus the Pelian youth approv'd, Him he rewarded well, and him he lov'd; His dull, uneven werfe, by great good fate, Got him his favours and a fair estate. Creech's Hor.

Hie funt numerati aurei trecenti nummi, qui vacantur Phielippi. Plaut, in Fen.

find entrance. * It has been faid, that he was a mer. chant rather than a conqueror; that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece, and that he bought its cities rather than took them. He had penfioners in all the commonwealths in Greece, and retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the publick affairs. And, indeed, he was less proud of the success of a battle than that of a negociation, well knowing, that neither his generals nor his foldiers could share in the honour of the

Philip had married Olympias, daughter of Neoptole. The latter was fon of Alcetas, king of Molossus or Epirus. Olympias brought him Alexander, furnamed the Great, who was born at Pella, the capital of Macedonia, the first year of the 106th Olympiad. (i) Philip, who at that time was abfent from his kingdom, had three very agreeable + advices brought him; that he had carried the prize in the Olympick games; that Parmenio, one of his generals, had gained a great victory over the Illyrians; and that his wife was delivered of a fon. This prince, terrified at so signal a happiness, which the heathens thought frequently the omen of some mournful catastrophe, cried out, Great Jupiter, in return for so many blessings, send me as soon as possible some slight misfortune.

(k) We may form a judgement of Philip's care and attention with regard to the education of this prince, by the letter he wrote a little after his birth to Aristotle, to

acquaint

Creech's Hor.

(i) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Plut. in Alex. p. 666. Justin. l. xii. (k) Aul. Gel. 1. ix. c. 3. 6. 16. Plut. in Apophth. p. 187.

> Philippus majore ex parte mercator Greciæ, quam victor. * Callidus emptor Olynthi. Val. Max. lib. vii. c. 2.

- Diffidit hostium Portas vir Mecedo, et subruit æmulors. Horat. lib. iii. Od. 16. Reges muneribus.

When engines, and when arts do fail, The golden wedge can cleave the wall; Gold Philip's rival kings o'erthrew.

Plutarch Supposes, that this after the taking of Potidea, but this news was brought him immediately city had been taken two years bejon,

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equaint him fo early, that he had made choice of him for his fon's preceptor. I am to inform you, faid he, that I have a fon born. I return thanks to the gods, not fo much for having given him to me, as to have given him me in the time that Aristotle lived. I may justly promise myself, that you will make him a successor worthy of us both, and a ling worthy of Macedonia. What noble thoughts arise from the perusal of this letter, far different from the manners of the present age, but highly worthy of a great monarch and a good father! I shall leave the reader to make such reflexions on it as he shall think proper; and shall only observe, that this example may serve as a lesson even to private persons, as it teaches them how highly they ought o value a good master, and the extraordinary care they hould take to find fuch an one; * for every fon is an Alexander to his father. It appears that Philip + put his fon very early under Aristotle, convinced that the success of studies depends on the foundation first laid; and hat the man cannot be too able, who is to teach the principles of learning and knowledge in the manner they bught to be inculcated.

A description of the Macedonian phalanx.

(1) This ‡ was a body of infantry, confisting of fixteen houfand heavy-armed troops, who were always placed in he centre of the battle. Besides a sword, they were rmed with a shield, and a pike or spear, called by the Greeks $\Sigma API\Sigma\Sigma A$, (farissa). This pike was foureen cubits long, that is, twenty-one French feet, for the cubit consists of a foot and a half.

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(1) Polyb. 1. xvii. p. 764-767. Ælian. de Id. 1. xii. p. 664. nstruend. Acieb.

* Fingamus Alexandrum dari nos, impositum gremio, dignum tanta ira infantem : (quanquam fuus cuie dignus est.) Quintil. 1. i. c. 1.
An Philippus Macedonum rex lexandro filio suo prima literarum

ementa tradi ab Aristotele summo us actatis philosopho voluisset, aut e suscepisset hoc officium, si non

studiorum initia à persectissimo quoque optime tractari, pertinere ad fummam credidisset? Quintil. ibid.

Decem & fex millia peditum more Macedonum armati fuere, qui phalangitæ appellabantur. Hæc me-dia acies fuit in fronte, in decem partes divifa. Tit. Liv. 1. xxxvii. n. 40.

The phalanx was commonly divided into ten corps or battalions, each of which was composed of fixteen hundred men, an hundred feet in rank, and fixteen in file. Sometimes the file of fixteen was doubled, and sometimes divided according to occasion; so that the phalanx was fometimes but eight, and at other times thiry-two deep:

but its usual and regular depth was of fixteen.

The space between each soldier upon a march was fix feet, or, which is the same, four cubits; and the ranks were also about fix feet afunder. When the phalanx advanced towards an enemy, there was but three feet distance between each soldier, and the ranks were closed in proportion. In fine, when the phalanx was to receive the enemy, the men who composed it drew still closer, each foldier occupying only the space of a foot and a half.

This evidently shows the different space which the front of the phalanx took up in these three cases, supposing the whole to confift of fixteen thousand men, at fixteen deep, and confequently always a thousand men in front. This space or distance in the first case was fix thousand feet, or one thousand fathoms, which make ten furlongs, or half a league. In the fecond cafe it was but half to much, and took up but five furlongs, or five hundrad fathoms *. And, in the third case, it was again diminished another half, and extended to the distance of only two furlongs and a half, or two hundred and fifty fathoms.

Polybius examines the phalanx in the second case, in which it marched to attack the enemy. There then was three feet in breadth and depth between each foldier. We observed above, that their pikes were fourteen cubits long. The space between the two hands, and that part of the pike which projected beyond the right, took up four; and confequently the pike advanced ten cubits beyond the body of the foldier who carried it. This being supposed, the pikes of the soldiers placed in the fifth rank, whom I will call the fifths, and so of the rell, projected two cubits beyond the first rank; the pikes of

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the fourths four, those of the thirds six, those of the seconds eight cubits; in fine, the pikes of the soldiers, who formed the first rank, advanced ten cubits towards the enemy.

The reader will eafily conceive, that when the foldiers who composed the phalanx, this great and unwieldy machine, every part of which brittled with pikes as we have seen, moved all at once, presenting their pikes to attack the enemy, that they must charge with great force. The soldiers, who were behind the fifth rank, held their pikes raised, but reclining a little over the ranks who preceded them; thereby forming a kind of a roof, which (not to mention their thields) secured them from the darts discharged at a distance, which fell without doing them any hurt.

The foldiers of all the other ranks beyond the fifth, could not indeed engage against the enemy, nor reach them with their pikes, but then they gave great affistance in battle to those in the front of them. For by supporting them behind with the utmost strength, and propping them with their backs, they increased in a prodigious manner the strength and impetuosity of the onset; they gave their comrades such a force as rendered them immoveable in attacks, and at the same time deprived them of every hope or opportunity of slight by the rear; so that they were under the necessity either to conquer or die.

And indeed Polybius acknowledges, that as long as the foldiers of the phalanx preferved their disposition and order as a phalanx, that is, as long as they kept their ranks in the close order we have described, it was impossible for an enemy either to sustain its weight, or to open and break it. And this he demonstrates to us in a plain and sensible manner. The Roman soldiers (for it is those he compares to the Greeks in the place in question) says he, take up, in fight, three seet each. And as they must necessarily move about very much, either to shift their bucklers to the right and left in defending themselves, or to thrust with the point, or strike with the edge, we must be obliged to suppose the distance of three seet between every soldier. In this manner every Roman soldier takes up six seet, that is,

twice as much distance as one of the * phalanx, and confequently opposes fingly two foldiers of the first rank; and for the same reason, is obliged to make head against ten pikes, as we have before observed. Now it is imposfible for a fingle foldier to break, or force his way through

ten pikes.

(m) This Livy shows evidently in a few words, where he describes in what manner the Romans were repulsed by the Macedonians at the fiege of a city. + The conful. fays he, made his cohorts to advance, in order if possible, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx. When the latter, keeping very close together, had advanced forward their long pikes, the Romans having discharged ineffectually their javelins against the Macedonians, whom their shields (pressed very close together) covered like a roof and a tortoife; the Romans, I fay, drew their fwords. But it was not possible for them either to come to a close engagement, or cut or break the pikes of the enemy; and if they happened to cut or break any one of them, the broken piece of the pike ferved as a point; fo that this range of pikes, with which the front of the phalanx was armed, still existed.

(n) Paulus Æmilius owned, that in the battle with Perseus, the last king of Macedon, this rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with terrour and aftonishment. He did not remember, he faid, any thing fo formidable as this phalanx; and often afterwards declared, that this dreadful spectacle had made fo strong an impression upon him, as almost made

him despair of the victory.

* It was before said, that each Soldier of the phalanx took up three feet when be advanced to attack the enemy, and but half so much when be waited his coming up. In this

last case, each Roman soldier was obliged to make head against twenty pikes.

+ Cohortes invicem sub signis, quæ cuneum Macedonum, (phalangem ipsi vocant) si possent, vi perrumperunt, emittebat-Ubi con-

(m) Liv. 1. xxxii n. 17. (n) Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265. ferti hastas ingentis longitudinis præ se Macedones objecissent, velut in constructam densitate clypeorum testudinem, Romani pilis nequicquam emissis, cum strinxissent gladios; neque congredi propiùs neque præcedere hastas poterant; &, si quam incidissent aut præfregissent, hastile fragmento ipso acuto, inter spicula integrarum hastarum, velut vallum explebat.

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From what has been faid above, it follows, that the Macedonian phalanx was invincible; nevertheless, we find by history, that the Macedonians and their phalanx were vanquished and subdued by the Romans. It was invincible, replied Polybius, fo long as it continued a phalanx, but this happened very rarely; for in order to its being fo. it required a flat even spot of ground of large extent, without either tree, bush, intrenchment, ditch, valley, hill, or river. Now we feldom find a fpot of this kind, of fifteen, twenty, or more furlongs.* in extent; for so large a space is necelfary for containing a whole army, of which the phalanx is but a part.

But let us suppose (it is Polybius who still speaks) that a track of ground, fuch as could be wished, were found; yet of what use could a body of troops, drawn up in the form of a phalanx, be, should the enemy, instead of advancing forward and offering battle, fend out detachments to lay waste the country, plunder the cities, or cut off the convoys? That in case the enemy should come to a battle, the general need only command part of his front (the centre for instance) to give way and fly, that the phalanx may have an opportunity of purfuing them. In this case, it is manifest the phalanx would be broke, and a large cavity made in it, in which the Romans would not fail to charge the phalanx in flank on the right and left, at the fame time that those foldiers, who are purluing the enemy, may be attacked in the fame manner.

This reasoning of Polybius appears to me very clear, and at the same time gives us a very just idea of the manner in which the ancients fought; which certainly ought to have its place in history, as it is an effential part of it.

Hence appears, as (o) Mr. Boffuet observes after Polybius, the difference between the Macedonian + phalanx formed

* Three quarters of a league, or a league, or perhaps more.

⁽⁶⁾ Discourse on Universal History. fervans; sed illa phalanx immobilis, & unius generis: Romana acies difsinctior, ex pluribus partibus con-

⁺ Statarius uterque miles, ordines, stans; facilis partienti quacumque opus esfet, facilis jungenti, Tit. Liv. 1. ix. n. 19.

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formed of one large body, very thick on all fides, which was obliged to move all at once, and the Roman army, divided into small bodies, which for that reason were nimbler, and confequently more aptly disposed for motions of every kind. The phalanx cannot long preserve its natural property (these are Polybius's words) that is to fay, its folidity and thickness, because it requires its peculiar spots of ground, and those, as it were, made purposely for it; and that for want of such tracks, it encumbers, or rather breaks itself by its own motion; not to mention, that, if it is once broke, the foldiers who compose it can never rally again. Whereas the Roman army, by its division into small bodies, takes advantage of all places and fituations, and fuits itself to them. It is united or separated at pleasure. It files off, or draws together, without the least difficulty. It can very easily detach, rally, and form every kind of evolution, either in the whole or in part, as occasion may require. In fine, it has a greater variety of motions, and consequently more allvity and strength than the phalanx.

(p) This enabled Paulus * Æmilius to gain his celebrated victory over Perseus. He first attacked the phalanx in front. But the Macedonians (keeping very close together) holding their pikes with both hands, and presenting this iron rampart to the enemy, could not be either broke or forced in any manner, and so made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans. But at last, the unevenness of

(p) Plutarch. in Paul. Æmil. p. 265, 266. Liv. l. xliv. n. 41.

commoda phalangi, maxime Macedonum, quæ, nisi ubi prælongis hastis velut vallum ante clypeos objecit (quod ut siat, libero campo opus est) nullius admodum usus est. Id. 1. sxxi. n. 39.

Secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem; neque ulla evidentior causa victorize suit, quam quod multa passim przelia erant, quze suctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disjecerunt phalangem; cujus consertze, & intentis horrentis hastis, intolerabiles vires sunt. Si carptim aggrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudint & gravitate hastam cogas, consus fire implicantur: si vero ab latere, aus ab tergo, aliquid tumultus increpuit, ruinæ modo turbantur. Si cut tum adversus catervatim irruentes Romanos, & interrupta multifariam acie, obviam ire cogebantur. & Romani, quacumque data intervalla effent, insinuabant ordines sua. Qui si universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concumisent—induissent se hastis, nec confertam aciem sustinuissent. Til. Litteram aciem sustinuissent. Til. Litteram aciem sustinuissent.

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the ground, and the great extent of the front in battle, not allowing the Macedonians to continue in all parts that range of shields and pikes; Paulus Æmilius observed, that the phalanx was obliged to leave several openings and intervals. Upon this, he attacked them at these openings, not as before, in front, and in a general onset, but by detached bodies, and in different parts, at one and the same time. By this means the phalanx was broke in an instant, and its whole force, which consisted merely in its union, and the impression it made all at once, was entirely lost, and Paulus Æmilius gained the victory.

(q) The fame Polybius, in the twelfth book above cited, describes in sew words the order of battle observed by the cavalry. According to him, a squadron of horse consisted of eight hundred, generally drawn up one hundred in front, and eight deep; consequently such a squadron as this took up a surlong, or an hundred fathoms, supposing the distance of one sathom of six seet for each horseman; a space he must necessarily have, to make his evolutions and to rally. Ten squadrons, or eight thousand horse, occupied ten times as much ground, that is, ten surlongs, or a thousand fathoms, which makes about half a league.

From what has been faid the reader may judge how much ground an army took up according to the number of infantry and cavalry of which it confitted.

Sect. II. The sacred war. Sequel of the history of Philip. He endeavours in vain to possess himself of the pass of Thermopylæ.

(r) DISCORD, which fomented perpetually in the Greeks dispositions not very remote from an open rupture, broke out with great violence upon account of the Phocæans. Those people who inhabited the territories adjacent to Delphos, ploughed up certain lands that were facred to Apollo, which were thereby prophaned. Vol. V.

Immediately

(q) Lib. xii. p. 633. (r) A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355. Diod: 1. xvi. p. 425-433.

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Immediately the people in the neighbourhood exclaimed against them, as guilty of facrilege, some from a spirit of fincerity, and others in order to cover their private revenge with the veil of religion. The war that broke out on this occasion was called the facred war, as undertaken from a religious motive, and lasted ten years. The people guilty of this prophanation were fummoned to appear before the Amphyctions, or states general of Greece; and the whole affair being duely examined, the Phocæans were declared

facrilegious, and fentenced to pay a heavy fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief citizens, a bold man, and of great authority, having proved by some verses in (s) Homer, that the fovereignty of Delphos belonged anciently to the Phocæans, inflames them against this decree, determines with them to take up arms, and is appointed their general. He immediately went to Sparta, to engage the Lacedæmonians in his interest. were very much difgusted at the sentence which the Amphyctions had pronounced against them, at the follicitation of the Thebans, by which they had been also condemned to pay a fine, for having feifed upon the citadel of Thebes by fraud and violence. Archidamus, one of the kings of Sparta, gave Philomelus a handsome reception. monarch, however, did not dare to declare openly in fayour of the Phocæans, but promifed to affift him with money, and to furnish him fecretly with troops, as he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his return home, raifes foldiers, and begins by attacking the temple of Delphos, of which he possessed himself without any great difficulty, the inhabitants of the country making but a weak refistance. The * Locrians, a people in the neighbourhood of Delphos, took arms against him, but were defeated in several rencounters. Philomelus, encouraged by these first successes, increased his troops daily, and put himself in a condition to carry on his enterprise with vigour. Accordingly he enters the temple, tears from the pillars the decree of the Amphyctions

> (s) Iliad. 1. ii. v. 516 * Or Lochri.

Amphyctions against the Phocæans, publishes all over the country, that he has no design to seise the riches of the temple, and that his sole view is to restore the Phocæans their ancient rights and privileges. It was necessary for him to have a fanction from the god who presided at Delphos, and to receive such an answer from the oracle as might be favourable to him. The priestess at first resuled to co-operate on this occasion; but, being terrified by his menaces, she answered, that the god permitted him to do whatever he should think proper; a circumstance he took

care to publish to all the neighbouring nations.

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The affair was now become a ferious one. The Amphychions meeting a fecond time, a resolution was formed to declare war against the Phocæans. Most of the Grecian nations engaged in this quarrel, and sided with the one or the other party. The Boeotians, the Locrians, Thesians, and several other neighbouring people declared in favour of the god; whilst Sparta, Athens, and some other cities of Peloponnesus, joined with the Phocæans. Philomelus had not yet touched the treasures of the temple; but being afterwards not so scrupulous, he believed that the riches of the god could not be better employed than in his (the deity's) defence, for he gave this specious name to this sacrilegious attempt; and being enabled by this stresh supply, to double the pay of his soldiers, he raised a very considerable body of troops.

Several battles were fought, and the fuccess for some time seemed doubtful on both sides. Every body knows how much religious wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious lengths which a salse zeal, when veiled with so venerable a name, is apt to go. The Thebans having in a rencounter taken several prisoners, condemned them all to die as sacrilegious wretches, who were excommunicated. The Phocæans did the same by way of reprisal. These had at first gained several advantages; but having been deseated in a great battle, Philomelus their leader, being closely attacked upon an eminence from which there was no retreating, desended himself for a long time with invincible bravery, which however not availing, he

N 2 threw

threw himself headlong from a rock, in order to avoid the torments he must unavoidably have undergone, had he fallen alive into the hands of his enemies. Onomarchus was his successor, and took upon him the command of the forces.

(t) This new general had foon levied a fresh army, the advantageous pay he offered procuring him soldiers from all sides. He also by dint of money brought over several chiefs of the other party, and prevailed upon them either to retire, or to do little or nothing, by which he gained

great advantages.

Philip thought it most consistent with his interest to remain neuter in this general movement of the Greeks in favour either of the Phocæans or of the Thebans. It was consistent with the policy of this ambitious prince, who had little regard for religion or the interest of Apollo, but was always intent upon his own, not to engage in a war by which he could not reap the least benefit; and to take advantage of a juncture, in which all Greece, employed and divided by a great war, gave him an opportunity to extend his frontiers, and push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. He was also well pleased to see both parties weaken and consume each other, as he should thereby be enabled to fall upon them afterwards with greater advantage.

(u) Being desirous of subjecting Thrace, and of securing the conquests he had already made in it, he determined to possess himself of Methone, a small city, incapable of supporting itself by its own strength, but which gave him disquiet, and obstructed his designs whenever it was in the hands of his enemies. Accordingly he besieged that city, made himself master of, and rased it. (x) He lost one of his eyes before Methone, by a very singular accident. After of Amphipolis had offered his service to Philip, as so excellent a mark sman, that he could bring down birds in their most rapid slight. The monarch made this answer, Well, I will take you into my service when I make war

(t) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. (u) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 352. Diod. p. 434. (x) Suidas in Kapav.

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war upon starlings: which answer stung the cross-bowman to the quick. A repartee proves often of satal consequence to him who makes it, and it is not a small merit to know when to hold one's tongue. After having thrown himself into the city, he let sly an arrow, on which was written To Philip's right eye, and gave him a most cruel proof that he was a good marksman; for he hit him in his right eye. Philip sent him back the same arrow, with this inscription, If Philip takes the city, he will hang up Aster; and accordingly he was as good as his word.

(y) A skilful surgeon drew the arrow out of Philip's eye with so much art and dexterity, that not the least scar remained; and though he could not save his eye, he yet took away the blemish. (z) But nevertheless this monarch was so weak, as to be angry whenever any person happened to let slip the word Cyclops, or even the word cye, in his presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable impersection. A Lacedæmonian woman thought more like a man, when, to console her son for a glorious wound that had lamed him, the said, Now, son, every step you take will put you in mind of your valour.

(a) After the taking of Methone, Philip, ever studious either to weaken his enemies by new conquelts, or gain new friends by doing them some important service, marched into Theffaly, which had implored his affiltance against the tyrants. The liberty of that country seemed now fecure, fince Alexander of Pheræ was no more. Nevertheless, his brothers, who, in concert with his wife Thebé, had murdered him, grown weary of having fome time acted the part of deliverers, revived his tyranny, and oppressed the Thessalians with a new yoke. Lycophron, the eldest of the three brothers who succeeded Alexander, had strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocæans. Onomarchus, their leader, brought him a numerous body of forces, and at first gained a considerable advantage over Philip; but engaging him a fecond time, he was entirely defeated, and his army routed. The flying N 3 troops

⁽x) Plin. 1. vii. c. 37.

(x) Demet. Phaler, de Elocut. c. iii.

troops were purfued to the fea-shore. Upwards of fix thousand men were killed on the spot, among whom was Onomarchus, whose body was hung upon a gallows: and three thousand, who were taken prisoners, were thrown into the sea by Philip's order, as so many facrilegious wretches, the professed enemies of religion. Lycophron delivered up the city of Pheræ, and restored Thessaly to its liberty by abandoning it. By the happy success of this expedition, Philip acquired for ever the affection of the Thessalians, whose excellent cavalry, joined to the Macedonian phalanx, had afterwards so great a share in his victories and those of his son.

Phayllus, who fucceeded his brother Onomarchus, finding the fame advantages he had done, from the immense riches he found in the temple, raised a numerous army; and supported by the troops of the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and the other allies, whom he paid very largely, he went into Pœotia and invaded the Thebans. For a long time victory shifted sides; but at last Phayllus being attacked with a sudden and violent distemper, after suffering the most cruel torments, ended his life in a manner worthy of his impieties and facrilegious actions. Phalecus, then very young, the son of Onomarchus, was placed in his room; and Mnaseas, a man of great experience, and strongly attached to his family, was appointed his counsellor.

The new leader treading in the steps of his predeceffors, plundered the temple as they had done, and enriched
all his friends. At last the Phoceans opened their eyes,
and appointed commissioners to call all those to account
who had any concern in the publick monies. Upon this
Phalecus was deposed; and, after an exact enquiry, it was
sound that from the beginning of the war there had been
taken out of the temple upwards of ten thousand talents,
that is, about one million, five hundred thousand pounds.

Philip, after having freed the Thessalians, resolved to carry his arms into Phocis. This is his first attempt to get footing in Greece, and to have a share in the general affairs of the Greeks, from which the kings of Macedon had

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had always been excluded as foreigners. In this view, upon pretence of going over into Phocis in order to punish the facrilegious Phocæans, he marches towards Thermopylæ to possess himself of a pass, which gave him a free passage into Greece, and especially into Attica. The Athenians, upon hearing of a march which might prove of the most fatal consequence to them, hastened to Thermopylæ and possess which Philip did not dare attempt to sore; so that he was obliged to return back into Macedonia.

SECT. III. DEMOSTHENES, upon Philip's attempting Thermopylae, harangues the Athenians, and animates them against that prince. Little regard is paid to his oration. Olynthus upon the point of being besinged by Philip, addresses the Athenians for succour. Demosthere endeavours by his orations to rouse them out of their lethargy. They send but a very weak succour, and Philip at length takes Olynthus.

A S we shall foon see Philip engaged against the Athenians, and as they, by the strong exhortations and prudent counsels of Demosthenes, will become his greatest enemies, and the most powerful opposers of his ambitious designs, it may not be improper, before we enter into that part of the history, to give a short account of the state of Athens, and of the disposition of the citizens at that time.

We must not form a judgement of the character of the Athenians, in the age we are now speaking of, from that of their ancestors, in the time of the battles of Marathon and of Salamis, from whose virtue they had extremely degenerated. They were no longer the same men, and had no longer the same maxims, and the same manners. They no longer discovered the same zeal for the publick good, the same application to the affairs of the state, the same courage to support satigues of war by sea and land; the same care of the revenues, the same willingness to N 4.

Lear falutary advice; the same discernment in the choice of generals of the armies, and of magistrates to whom they entrusted the administration of the state. To these happy, these glorious dispositions, succeeded a fondness for repote, and an indolence with regard to publick affairs; an aversion for military satigues, which they now lest entirely to mercenary troops; and a profusion of the publick treasures in games and shows; a love for the slattery which their orators lavished upon them; and an unhappy facility in conferring publick offices by intrigue and cabal; all which usually precede the approaching ruin of states. Such was the situation of Athens at the time the king of

Macedon began to turn his arms against Greece.

We have feen that Philip, after various conquests had attempted to advance as far as Phocis, but in vain; because the Athenians, justly alarmed at the impending danger, had stopped him at the pass of Thermopylæ (b). Demosthenes taking advantage of fo favourable a disposition of things, mounted the tribunal, in order to fet before them a lively image of the impending danger to which they were exposed by the boundless ambition of Philip; and to convince them of the absolute necessity they were under, from hence, to apply the most speedy remedies. Now, as the fuccess of his arms, and the rapidity of his progress, spread throughout Athens a kind of terror bordering very near defpair, the orator, by a wonderful artifice first endeavours to revive their courage, and ascribes their calamities to their sloth and indolence. For, if they hitherto had acquitted themselves of their duty, and that in spite of their activity and their utmost efforts, Philip had prevailed over them, they then, indeed, would not have the least resource or hope left. But in this oration, and all those which follow, Demosthenes infists strongly, that the grandeur of Philip is wholly owing to the fupineness of the Athenians, and that it is this supineness which makes him bold, daring, and fwells him with fuch a spirit of haughtiness, as even infults the Athenians.

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" See (fays Demosthenes to them, speaking of Philip, " to what a height the arrogance of that man rifes, who " will not fuffer you to choose either action or repose; " but employs menaces, and, as fame fays, fpeaks in the " most infolent terms; and not contented with his first " conquests, but incapable of fatiating his lust of domi-" nion, engages every day in some new enterprise. Possi-" bly you wait till necessity reduces you to act; can any " one be greater to freeborn men than thame and infamy? "Will you then for ever walk the publick place with " this question in your mouths, What news is there? " Can there be greater news, than that a Macedonian has " vanquished the Athenians, and made himself the fu-" preme arbiter of Greece? Philip is dead, fays one; " he is only fick, replies another. (His being wounded " at Methone had occasioned all these reports.) But " whether he be fick or dead is nothing to the purpofe, "O Athens! For the moment after heaven had deli-" vered you from him, (should you still behave as you " now do) you would raife up another Philip against " yourfelves; fince the man in question owes his gran-" deur infinitely more to your indolence, than to his own " ftrength."

But Demosthenes, not fatisfied with bare remonstrances, or with giving his opinion in general terms, proposed a plan, the execution of which he believed would check the attempts of Philip. In the first place, he advises the Athenians to fit out a fleet of fifty gallies, and to resolve firmly to man them themselves. He requires them to re-inforce these with ten gallies lightly armed, which may ferve as a convoy to the fleet and transports. With regard to the land-forces, as in his time the general, elected by the most powerful faction, formed the army only of a confused assemblage of foreigners and mercenary troops, who did little fervice; Demosthenes requires them to levy no more than two thousand chosen troops, five hundred of which shall be Athenians, and the rest raised from among the allies; with two hundred horse, fifty of which shall also be Athenians.

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The expence of this little army, with regard only to provisions and other matters independent from their pay, was to amount to little more per month than ninety * talents (ninety thousand crowns) viz. forty talents for ten convoy gallies, at the rate of twenty minæ (a thousand livres) per month for each galley; forty talents for the two thousand infantry, and ten drachmas (five livres) per month for each foot-foldier; which five livres per month make a little more than three-pence farthing French moncy per diem. Finally, twelve talents for the two hundred horse, at thirty drachmas (fifteen livres) per month for each horseman; which fifteen livres per month make ten The reason of my relating this so parti-Iols per diem. cularly, is to give the reader an idea of the expences of an army in those times. Demosthenes adds, if any one imagines, that the preparation of provisions is not a confiderable step, he is very much mistaken; for he is perfunded, that provided the forces do not want provisions, the war will furnish them with every thing befides; and that without doing the least wrong to the Greeks or allies, they will not fail of fufficient acquisitions to make up all deficiencies and arrears of pay.

But as the Athenians might be surprised at Demostlenes's requiring so small a body of forces, he gives this reation for it, viz. that at present the commonwealth did not permit the Athenians to oppose Philip with a sufficient force in the field; and that it would be their business to make excursions only. Thus his design was, that this little army should be hovering perpetually about the frontiers of Macedonia, to awe, observe, harrass, and keep close to the enemy, in order to prevent them from concerting and executing such enterprises with ease, as they

might think fit to attempt.

What the fuccess of this harangue was, is not known. It is very probable, that as the Athenians were not attacked personally, they, according to the supineness natural to them, were very indolent with regard to the progress of Philip's

^{*} Each talent was worth a thousand crowns.

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Philip's arms. The divisions at this time in Greece were very favourable to that monarch. Athens and Lacedæmonia on one side employed themselves wholly in reducing the strength of Thebes their rival; whilst, on the other side, the Thessalians, in order to free themselves from their tyrants, and the Thebans, to maintain the superiority which they had acquired by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinea, devoted themselves in the most resolute manner to Philip; and assisted him (undesignedly) in making chains for themselves.

Philip, as an able politician, knew well how to take advantage of all these dissensions. This king, in order to secure his frontiers, had nothing more at heart than to enlarge them towards Thrace; and this he could scarce attempt but at the expence of the Athenians, who since the defeat of Xerxes had many colonies (besides several states who were either their allies or tributaries) in that country.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace in the peninfula of Pallene, was one of these colonies. The Olynthians had been at great variance with Amyntas father of Philip, and had even very much opposed the latter, upon his accession to the crown. However, being not firmly established on his throne, he at first employed dissimulation, and requested the alliance of the Olynthians, to whom, some time after, he gave up Potidæa, an important fortress, which he had conquered, in concert with and for them, from the Athemans. When he found himfelf able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to beliege Olyn-The inhabitants of this city, who faw the storm gathering at a distance, had recourse to the Athenians, of whom they requested immediate aid. The affair was debated in an affembly of the people, and as it was of the utmost importance, a great number of orators met in the affemby. Each of them mounted it in his turn, which was regulated by their age. Demosthenes, who was then but four-and-thirty, did not speak till after his seniors had discussed the matter a long time. N 6 (c) In

(c) In this * discourse, the orator, the better to succeed in his aim, alternately terrifies and encourages the Athe-For this purpose, he represents Philip in two very different lights. On one fide, he is a man, whose unbounded ambition the empire of the world would not fatiate, an haughty tyrant, who looks upon all men, and even his allies as fo many fubjects or flaves; and who, for that reason, is no less incensed by too slow a submission, than an open revolt; a vigilant politician, who, always intent to take advantage of the overfights and errors of others, feifes every favourable opportunity; an indefatigable warrior, whom his activity multiplies, and who supports perpetually the most severe toils, without allowing himself a moment's repose, or having the least regard to the difference of feafons; an intrepid hero, who rushes through obstacles, and plunges into the midst of dangers; a corrupter, who with his purse, trafficks, buys, and employs gold no less than iron; a happy prince, on whom fortune lavishes her favours, and for whom she seems to have forgot her inconstancy: but, on the other fide, this fame Philip is an imprudent man, who measures his valt projects, not by his strength, but merely by his ambition; a rash man, who, by his attempts, digs himself the grave of his own grandeur, and opens precipices before him, down which a finall effort would throw him; a knave, whose power is raised on the most ruinous of all foundations, breach of faith, and villainy; an usurper, hated univerfally abroad, who, by trampling upon all laws, human and divine, has made all nations his enemies; a tyrant, detested even in the heart of his dominions, in which, by the infamy of his manners and other vices, he has tired out the patience of his captains, his foldiers, and of

(c) Ofynth. ii.

great weight on this occasion, changes the order generally observed in Demosthenes's orations, and placesthisat the head of the Olynthiacks. Though I am of his opinion, I shall cite the orations in the order they are printed. all his impior and w by any cond to

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^{*} The oration which Demosthenes pronounced at that time, is generally looked upon as the second of the three Olynthiacks, which relate to this subject. But M. de Tourreil, chiefly on the authority of Dionysius Halicarnassens, which ought to be of

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all his subjects in general; to conclude, a perjured and impious wretch, equally abhorred by heaven and earth, and whom the gods are now upon the point of destroying by any hand that will administer to their wrath, and second their vengeance.

This is the double picture of Philip, which M. de Tourreil draws, by uniting the feveral detached lineaments in the prefent oration of Demosthenes. In it is shown the great freedom with which the Athenians spoke

of fo powerful a monarch.

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Our orator, after having represented Philip one moment as formidable, the next very easy to be conquered, concludes, that the only certain method for reducing such an enemy, would be to reform the new abuses, to revive the ancient order and regulations, to appease domestick diffentions, and to suppress the cabals which are incessantly forming; and all this in such a manner, that every thing may unite in the sole point of the publick service; and that at a common expence, every man, according to his abilities, may concur to the destruction of the common enemy.

Damades *, bribed by Philip's gold, opposed very strenuously the advice of Demosthenes, but in vain; for the Athenians sent, under the conduct of Chares the general, thirty gallies and two thousand men to succour the Olynthians, who, in this urgent necessity, which so nearly affected all the Greeks in general, could obtain

affiltance only from the Athenians.

However this fuccour did not prevent the defigns of Philip, or the progress of his arms. For he marches into Chalcis, takes several places of strength, the fortress of Gira, and spreads terrour throughout the whole country. Olynthus, being thus in great danger of an invasion, and menaced with destruction, sent a second embassy to Athens, to solicit a new re-inforcement. Demosthenes argues very strongly in favour of their request, and proves to the Athenians, that they were equally obliged by honour and interest to have regard to it. This

^{*} Suidas in voce Anuadng.

is the subject of the Olynthiack generally taken as the third. The orator, always animated with a strong and lively zeal for the fafety and glory of his country, endeavours to intimidate the Athenians, by fetting before them the dangers with which they are threatened; exhibiting to

them a most dreadful prospect of the future, if they do not rouse from their lethargy: for that, in case Philip feifes upon Olynthus, he will inevitably attack Athens

afterwards with all his forces.

The greatest difficulty was the means of raising fufficient fums for defraying the expenses requifite for the fuccour of the Olynthians, because the military funds were otherwise employed, viz. for the celebration of the

publick games.

When the Athenians, at the end of the war of Ægina, had concluded a thirty years peace with the Lacedamonians, they refolved to put into their treasury, by way of referve, a thousand talents every year; at the same time prohibiting any person, upon pain of death, to mention the employing any part of it, except for repulfing an enemy who should invade Attica. This was at first observed with the warmth and fervour which men have for all new institutions. Afterwards Pericles, in order to make his court to the people, proposed to distribute among them, in times of peace *, the thousand talents, and to apply it in giving to each citizen two oboli at the publick thows, upon condition, however, that they might refume this fund in time of war. The propofal was approved, and the restriction also. But, as all concessions of this kind degenerate one time or other into licence, the Athenians were fo highly pleafed with this distribution (called by Damedes a glue ty which the Athenians would be catched) that they absolutely would not suffer it to be retrenched upon any account. The abuse was carried to fuch a height, that Eubulus, one of the faction who opposed Demosthenes, prohibited any person, upen pain of death, so much as to propose the restoring, for the service of the war, those funds which Pericles had transferred to

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^{*} These games besides, the two of the persons present, eccasional ebeli nobich were distributed to each great number of other expenses.

the games and publick shows. Apollodorus was even punished, for declaring himself of a contrary opinion, and

for infilling upon it.

This abturd profusion had very strange effects. It was impossible to supply it but by imposing taxes, the inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated strong feuds, and made the military preparations so very flow, as quite defeated the defign of them, without ledening the expence. As the artificers and fea-faring people, who composed above two-thirds of the people of Athens, did not contribute any part of their fubstance, and only gave their persons, the whole weight of the taxes fell entirely upon the rich. These murmured upon that account, and reproached the others with the publick monies being squandered upon festivals, comedies, and the like superfluities. But the people, being sensible of their superiority, paid very little regard to their complaints, and had no manner of inclination to subtract from their diversions, merely to eafe people who possessed employments and dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Befides, any person who should dare to propose this seriously and in form, would be in great danger of his life.

However, Demosthenes prefumed to introduce this subject at two different times; but then he treated it with the utmost art and circumspection. After showing that the Athenians were indispensably obliged to raise an army, in order to stop the enterprises of Philip, he hints (but in a diltant way) that those funds which were expended in theatrick reprefentations, ought to be employed for levying and maintaining an armed force. He demanded that commissioners might be nominated, not to enact new laws (there being already but too many established) but to examine and abolish such as should be prejudicial to the commonwealth. He did not thereby become obnoxious to capital punishment, as enacted by those laws; because he did not require that they should be actually abolished, but only that commissioners might be nominated to inspect them. He only hinted, how highly necessary it was to abolish a law, which grieved the most zealous citizens, and reduced them to this fad necessity, either to ruin themselves,

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in case they gave their opinion boldly and faithfully, or to destroy their country, in case they observed a fearful,

prevaricating filence.

These remonstrances do not seem to have the success they deferved, fince in the following Olynthiack (which is commonly placed as the first) the orator was obliged to inveigh once more against the misapplication of the military funds. The Olynthians being now vigorously attacked by Philip, and having hitherto being very ill ferved by the venal fuccours of Athens, required, by a third embaffy, a body of troops, which should not confift of mercenaries and foreigners as before, but of true Athenians, of men inspired with a sincere ardour for the interest both of their own glory, and the common cause. The Athenians, at the earnest folicitation of Demosthenes. fent Chares a fecond time, with a re-inforcement of feventeen gallies, of two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens, as the Olynthians had requested.

(d) The following year Philip possessed himself of Olynthus. Neither the fuccours nor efforts of the Athenians could defend it from its domestick enemies. It was betrayed by Euthycrates and Lasthenes, two of its most eminent citizens, in actual employment at that time. Thus Philip entered by the breach which his gold had made. Immediately he plunders this unhappy city, lays one part of the inhabitants in chains, and fells the relt for flaves; and diffinguishes those who had betrayed their city, no otherwise than by the supreme contempt he expressed for them. This king, like his fon Alexander, loved the treason, but abhorred the traitor. And, indeed, how can a prince rely upon him who has betrayed his country? (e) Every one, even the common foldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached Euthycrates and Lafthenes for the perfidy, who complaining to Philip upon that account, he only made this ironical answer, infinitely more fevere than the reproach itself: Do not mind what a pack of vulgar fellows say, who call every thing by its

(d) A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. Diod. l. xvi. p. 450-452.

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The king was overjoyed at his being possessed of this city, which was of the utmost importance to him, as its power might have very much checked his conquests.

(f) Some years before, the Olynthians had long resisted the united armies of Macedon and Lacedæmonia; whereas Philip had taken it with very little resistance, at least had not lost many men in the siege.

He now caused shows and publick games to be exhibited with the utmost magnificence; to these he added seasts, in which he made himself very popular, bestowing on all the guests considerable gifts, and treating them

with the utmost marks of his friendship.

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SECT. IV. PHILIP declares in favour of Thebes against the Phocæans, and thereby engages in the sacred war. He lulls the Athenians, notwithstanding the remonstrances of DEMOSTHENES, into security, by a pretended peace and false promises. He seises on Thermopylæ, subjects the Phocæans, and puts an end to the sacred war. He is admitted into the council of the Amphyctions.

HE Thebans, being unable alone to terminate the war, (g) which they had fo long carried on against the Phocaeans, addreffed Philip. Hitherto, as we before mentioned, he had observed a kind of neutrality with respect to the sacred war; and he seemed to wait for an opportunity of declaring himfelf, that is, till both parties should have weakened themselves by a long war, which equally exhausted them both. The Thebans had now very much abated of that haughtiness, and those ambitious views with which the victories of Epamanondas had inspired them. The instant therefore that they requested the alliance of Philip, he refolved to espouse the interest of that republick, in opposition to the Phocæans. He had not lost fight of the project he had formed, of obtaining an entrance into Greece, in order to make himfelf master of it. To give success to his design, it was proper for him to declare in favour of one of the two parties,

⁽f) Diod. 1. xv. p. 341. (g) A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 351.

which at that time divided all Greece, that is, either for the Thebans, or the Athenians and Spartans. He was not fo void of fense as to imagine, that the latter party would affift his defign of carrying his arms into Greece, He therefore had no more to do but to join the Thebans, who offered themselves voluntarily to him, and who stood in need of Philip's power to support themselves in their declining condition. He therefore declared at once in their favour. But to give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude he affected to have at heart for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he also pretended to make an honour of the zeal with which he was fired, with regard to the violated god; and was very glad to pass for a religious prince, who warmly espouled the cause of the god, and of the temple of Delphos, in order to conciliate by that means the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. Politicians apply every pretext to their views, and endeavour to skreen the most unjust attempts with the veil of probity, and fometimes even of religion; though they very frequently have no manner of regard for either.

(b) There was nothing Philip had more at heart, than to possess himself of Thermopylæ, as it opened him a passage into Greece; to appropriate all the honour of the sacred war to himself, as if he had been principal in that affair, and to preside in the Pythian games. He was desirous of aiding the Thebans, and by their means to possess himself of Phocis: but then, in order to put this double design in execution, it was necessary for him to keep it secret from the Athenians, who had actually declared war against Thebes, and who for many years had been in alliance with the Phocæans. His business therefore was to make them change their measures by placing other objects in their view; and on this occasion the politicks of Philip succeeded to a wonder.

The Athenians, who began to grow tired of a war which was very burthensome, and of little benefit to them, had commissioned Ctesiphon and Phrynon to sound

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the intentions of Philip, and in what manner he stood disposed with regard to peace. These related that Philip did not appear averse to it, and that he even expressed a great affection for the common wealth. Upon this, the Athenians resolved to send a solemn embassy, to enquire more strictly into the truth of things, and to procure the last explanations, previously necessary to so important a negociation. Æschines and Demosthenes were among the ten ambassadors, who brought back three from Philip, viz. Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. ten executed their commission very faithfully, and gave a very good account of it. Upon this they were immediately fent back with full powers to conclude a peace, and to ratify it by oaths. It was then Demosthenes, who in his first embassy had met some Athenian captives in Macedonia, and had promifed to return and ranfome them at his own expence, endeavours to enable himfelf to keep his word; and in the mean time, advises his colleagues to embark with the utmost expedition, as the republick had commanded; and to wait as foon as possible upon Philip, in what place foever he might be. However, thefe, initead of making a speedy dispatch, as they were delired, go an ambassador's pace, proceed to Macedonia by land, thay three months in that country, and give Philip time to polless himself of several other strong places belonging to the Athenians in Thrace. At last, meeting with the king of Macedonia, they agree with him upon articles of peace; but having lulled them afleep with the specious pretence of a treaty, he deferred the ratification of it from day to day. Philip had found means to corrupt the amballadors one after another by prefents, Demosthenes excepted, who being but one, opposed his colleagues to no manner of purpose.

In the mean time, Philip made his troops advance continually. Being arrived at Pheræ in Theffaly, he at last ratifies the treaty of peace, but refuses to include the Phocæans in it. When news was brought to Athens, that Philip had signed the treaty, it occasioned very great joy in that city, especially to those who were averse to

the war, and dreaded the consequences of it. Among these was (i) Isocrates. He was a citizen very zealous for the commonwealth, whose prosperity he had very much at heart. The weakness of his voice, with a timidity natural to him, had prevented his appearing in publick, and from mounting like others the tribunal of harangues. He had opened a school in Athens, in which he read rhetorical lectures, and taught youth eloquence with great reputation and fuccess. However, he had not entirely renounced the care of publick affairs; and as others ferved their country viva voce, in the publick as. femblies, Ifocrates contributed to it by his writings, in which he delivered his thoughts; and these being foon

made publick, were very eagerly fought after.

On the present occasion, he writ a piece of considerable length, which he addressed to Philip, with whom he held a correspondence, but in such terms as were worthy good and faithful citizen. He was then very far advanced in years, being at least fourscore and eight. The score of this discourse was to exhort Philip to take advantage of the peace he had just before concluded, in order to reconcile all the Greek nations, and afterwards to tum his arms against the king of Persia. The business was to engage in this plan four cities, on which all the rel depended, viz. Athens, Sparta, Thebes, and Argos. He confesses, that had Sparta or Athens been as powerful a formerly, he should have been far from making sucha proposal, which he was sensible they would never approve; and which the pride of those two republicks, whilft fustained and augmented by fuccess, would reject with disdain. But that now, as the most powerful cities of Greece, wearied out and exhausted by long wars, and humbled in their turns by fatal reverses of fortune, have equally an interest in laying down their arms, and living in peace, pursuant to the example which the Athenians had began to fet them; the prefent is the most favourable opportunity Philip could have, to reconcile and unite the leveral cities of Greece.

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In case he (Philip) should be so happy to succeed in uch a project; so glorious and beneficial a success would aise him above whatever had appeared most august in Greece. But this project in itself, though it should not ave so happy an effect as he might expect from it, would et infallibly gain him the esteem, the affection, and confidence of all the nations of Greece; advantages using the present the same of the case of the same of t

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Some persons indeed, who were prejudiced against hilip, represent and exclaim against him as a crasty rince, who gives a specious pretext to his march, but, at he same time, has in reality no other object in view but he enflaving of Greece. Isocrates, either from a too reat credulity, or from a defire of bringing Philip into is views, supposes, that rumours so injurious as these, ave no manner of foundation; it not being probable, hat a prince who glories in being descended from Hercus, the deliverer of Greece, thould think of invading nd possessing himself of it. But these very reports, which re so capable of blackening his name, and of fullying all is glory, should prompt him to demonstrate the falfity of em in the presence of all Greece by the least suspicions proofs, in leaving and maintaining each city in the full offession of its laws and liberties; in removing with the most care all suspicions of partiality; in not espousing e interest of one people against another; in winning e confidence of all men by a noble difinterestedness and invariable love of justice: in fine, by aspiring to no her title than that of the reconciler of the divisions of reece, a title far more glorious than that of conqueror.

It is in the king of Persia's dominions he ought to merit ofe last titles. The conquest of it is open and sure to im, in case he could succeed in pacifying the troubles of reece. He should call to mind that Agesilaus, with o other forces than those of Sparta, shook the Persian rone, and would infallibly have subverted it, had he not en recalled into Greece, by the intestine divisions that en broke out. The signal victory of the ten thousand

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under Clearchus, and their triumphant retreat in the fight of innumerable armies, prove what might be expected from the joint forces of the Macedonians and Greeks, when commanded by Philip, against a prince inferior in every respect to him whom Cyrus had endeavoured to dethrone.

Ifocrates concludes with declaring, that one would believe the gods had hitherto granted Philip fo long a train of fuccesses, with no other view but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious enterprife, the plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the counsel he gave to three heads: that this prince should govern his own empire with wisdom and justice; thould heal the divitions between the neighbouring nations and all Greece, without defiring to poffefs any part of it him. felf; and this being done, that he should turn his victorious arms against a country, which from all ages had been the enemy of Greece, and had often vowed their destruction. It must be confessed, that this is a most noble plan, and highly worthy a great prince. But Isocrates had a very false idea of Philip, if he thought this monarch would ever put it in execution. Philip did not possess the equity, moderation, or difinterestedness, which such a project required. He really intended to attack Persia, but was perfuaded that it was his business to secure himself had of Greece, which indeed he was determined to do, m by fervices but by force. He did not endeavour either w win over or perfuade nations, but to subject and reduce them. As on his fide he had no manner of regard for alliances and treaties, he judged of others by himself, and was for affuring himfelf of them by much stronger to than those of friendship, gratitude, and fincerity.

As Demosthenes was better acquainted with the state of affairs than Isocrates, so he formed a truer judgement of Philip's designs. Upon his return from his embassly, he declares expressly, that he does not approve either of the discourse or the conduct of the Macedonian king, but that every thing is to be dreaded from him. On the contrary, Æschines, who had been bribed, assures the Athenians

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Athenians, that he had discovered the greatest candour and fincerity in the promifes and proceedings of this king. He had engaged that Thespiæ and Platæa should be repeopled, in spite of the opposition of the Thebans; that in case he should proceed so far as to subject the Phocaans, he would preferve them, and not do them the least injury; that he would restore Thebes to the good order which had before been observed in it; that Oropos should be given up absolutely to the Athenians; and, that in lieu of Amphipolis, they should be put in possession of Eubœa. It was to no purpose that Demosthenes remonstrated to his fellow-citizens, that Philip, notwithstanding all these glorious promises, endeavoured to possess himself, in an absolute manner, of Phocis; and that by abandoning it to him they would betray the commonwealth, and give up all Greece into his hands. He was not heard, and the oration of Æschines, who engaged that Philip would make good his feveral promifes, prevailed over that of Demosthenes.

(k) These deliberations gave that prince an opportunity to possess himself of Thermopylæ, and to enter Phocis. Hitherto there had been no possibility of reducing the Phocæans; but Philip needed but appear, for the bare found of his name filled them with terrour. Upon the supposition that he was marching against a herd of facrilegious wretches, not against common enemies, he ordered all his foldiers to wear crowns of laurel, and led them to battle as under the conduct of the god himself whose honour they revenged. The instant they appeared, the Phocæans believed themselves overcome. Accordingly they fue for peace, and yield to Philip's mercy, who gives Phalecus their leader leave to retire into Peloponnefus, with the eight thousand men in his service. manner Philip, with very little trouble, engrossed all the honour of a long and bloody war, which had exhausted the forces of both parties. * This victory gained him incredible

⁽k) A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Diod. l. xvi. p. 455.

^{*} Incredibile quantum ea res apud torum religionum. Itaque Diis proxomnes nationes Philippo gloriæ dedit. imus habetur, per quem Deorum ma-Hlum vindicem facrilegii, illum ul-jettas vindicata sit. Jufiin. 1. viii c. 2.

incredible honour throughout all Greece, and his glorious expedition was the topick of all conversations in that country. He was considered as the avenger of sacrilege and the protector of religion; and they almost ranked in the number of the gods the man who had defended their

majesty with so much courage and success.

Philip, that he might not feem to do any thing by his own private authority, in an affair which concerned all Greece, affembles the council of the Amphictions, and appoints them, for form fake, supreme judges of the pains and penalties to which the Phocæans had rendered themselves obnoxious. Under the name of these judges, who were entirely at his devotion, he decrees that the cities of Phocis shall be destroyed, that they shall be reduced to fmall towns of fixty houses each, and that those towns shall be at a certain distance one from the other; that those wretches who have committed facrilege, shall be absolutely proscribed; and that the rest shall not enjoy their possessions, but upon condition of paying an annual tribute, which shall continue to be levied till such time as the whole fums taken out of the temple of Delphos shall be repaid. Philip did not forget himself on this occasion. After he had subjected the rebellious Phocæans, he demanded that their feat in the council of the Amphyctions, which they had been declared to have forfeited, should be transferred to him. The Amphyctions, the instrument of whose vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refufing him, and accordingly admitted him a member of their body; a circumstance of the highest importance to him, as we shall fee in the sequel, and of very dangerous consequence to all the rest of Greece. They also gave him the superintendance of the Pythian games, in conjunction with the Boeotians and Thessalians; because the Corinthians, who possessed this privilege hitherto, had rendered themselves unworthy of it, by sharing in the facrilege of the Phocæans.

When news was brought to Athens of the treatment which the Phocæans had met with, the former perceived,

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but two late, the wrong step they had taken in refusing to comply with the counsels of Demosthenes; and in abandoning themselves blindly to the vain and idle promises of a traitor, who had fold his country. Belides the shame and grief with which they were seised for having failed in the obligations of the * confederacy, they found that they had betrayed their own interests in abandoning their allies. For Philip, by possessing himself of Phocis, was become master of Thermopylæ, which opened him the gates, and put into his hands the keys of Greece. (1) The Athenians; therefore, being alarmed upon their own account, gave orders that the women and children should be brought out of the country into the city; that the walls should be repaired, and the Piræeus fortified; in order to put themselves into a state of defence in case of an invation.

The Athenians had no share in the decree, by which Philip had been admitted among the Amphyctions. They perhaps had abfented themselves purposely, that they might not authorise it by their presence; or, which was more probable, Philip, in order to remove the obltacles, and avoid the remoras he might meet with in the execution of his defign, affembled fuch of the Amphyctions only as were entirely at his devotion. In fhort, he conducted his intrigue fo very artfully, that he obtained his ends. This election might be disputed as clandestine and irregular, and therefore he required a confirmation of it from the people, who, as members of that body, had a right either to reject or ratify the new choice. Athens received the circular invitation; but in an affembly of the people, which was called in order to deliberate on Philip's demand, feveral were of opinion, that no notice should be taken of it. Demosthenes, however, was of a contrary opinion; and though he did not approve in any manner of the peace which had been concluded with Philip, he did not think it would be for their interest to intringe it in the present juncture; fince that could not be done without stirring up against the Athenians, both

⁽¹⁾ Demofth. de falf. Legat. p. 312. * With the Phoceans.

the new Amphyction, and those who had elected him. His advice therefore was, that they should not expose themselves unseasonably to the dangerous consequences which might ensue, in case of their determinate resusal, to consent to the almost unanimous decree of the Amphyctions; and protested, that it was their interest to submit, for sear of worse, to the present condition of the times; that is, to comply with what was not in their power to prevent. This is the subject of Demosthenes's discourse, entitled, Oration on the peace. We may reasonably believe that this advice was followed.

SECT. V. PHILIP, being returned to Macedonia, extends his conquests into Illyria and Thrace. He projects a league with the Thebans, the Messenians, and the Argives, to invade Peloponnesus in concert with them. Athens declaring in favour of the Lacedæmonians, this league is dissolved. He again attempts Eubæa, but PHOCION drives him out of it. Character of that celebrated Athenian. PHILIP besieges Perinthus and Byzantium. The Athenians, animated by the orations of DEMOSTHENES, send succours to those two cities, under the command of PHOCION, who forces him to raise the siege of those places.

A FTER Philip had fettled every thing relating to the worship of the gods, and the security of the temple of Delphos, he returned into Macedonia with great glory, and the reputation of a religious prince and an intrepid conqueror. (n) Diodorus observes, that all those, who had shared in prophaning and plundering the temple, perished miserably, and came to a tragical end.

(o) Philip, satisfied that he had opened himself a passage into Greece by his seisure of Thermopylæ; that he had subjected Phocis; had established himself one of the judges of Greece, by his new dignity of Amphyction;

(n) A. M. 3660. Ant. J. C. 344. (n) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 456.

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(p) Diod.

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and that he had gained the esteem and applause of all nations, by his zeal to revenge the honour of the deity; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to stop his career, in order to prevent all the states of Greece from taking arms against him, in case they should discover too soon his ambitious views with regard to that country. In order therefore to remove all suspicion, and to sooth the disquietudes which arose on that occasion, he turned his arms against Illyria, purposely to extend his frontiers on that side, and to keep always his troops in

exercise by some new expedition.

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The fame motive prompted him afterwards to go over into Thrace. In the very beginning of his reign he had dispossessed the Athenians of several strong places in that country. Philip still carried on his conquest there. * Suidas observes, that before he took Olynthus, he had made himself master of thirty-two cities in Chalcis, which is part of Thrace. Chersonesus also was fituated very commodiously for him. This was a very rich peninfula, in which there were a great number of powerful cities and fine pasture lands. It had formerly belonged to the Athenians. The inhabitants of it put themselves under the protection of Lacedæmonia, after Lysander had detroved Athens; but submitted again to their first masters, after Conon, the fon of Timotheus, had re-instated that country. Cotys, king of Thrace, then dispossessed the Athenians of Cherlonesus; (p) but it was afterwards restored to them by Chersobleptus, son of Cotys, who, finding himself unable to defend it against Philip, gave it up to them the fourth year of the 106th Olympiad; relerving however to himself Cardia, which was the most confiderable city of the peninfula, and formed, as it were, the gate and entrance of it. (q) After Philip had deprived Cherfobleptus of his kingdom, which happened the fefond year of the 109th Olympiad, the inhabitants of Cardia being afraid of falling into the hands of the Athehians, who claimed their city, which formerly belonged

⁽p) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 434. (q) A. M. 3669. Aut. J. C. 335.

to them, submitted themselves to Philip, who did not

fail to take them under his protection.

(r) Diopithes, principal of the colony which the Athenians had fent into Chersonesus, looking upon this step in Philip as an act of hostility against the commonwealth, without waiting for an order, and fully perfuaded that it would not be disavowed, marches suddenly into the dominions of that prince in the maritime part of Thrace, whilft he was carrying on an important war in Upper Thrace; plunders them before he had time to return and make head against him, and carries off a rich booty, all which he lodged fafe in Cherfonefus. Philip, not being able to revenge himfelf in the manner he could have withed, contented himself with making grievous complaints to the Athenians, by letters upon that account. Such as received penfions from him in Athens, ferved him but too effectually. These venal wretches loudly exclaimed against a conduct, which, if not prudent, was at least excusable. They declaim against Diopithes; impeach him of involving the state in war; accuse him of extortion and piracy; infift upon his being recalled, and purfue his condemnation with the utmost heat and violence.

Demosthenes, seeing at this juncture that the publick warfare was inseparable from that of Diopithes, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration on Chersonesus. This Diopithes was father to Menander, the comick poet, whom Terence has copied so faithfully.

Diopithes was accused of oppressing the allies by his unjust exactions. However, Demosthenes lays the least stress on this, because it was personal; he nevertheless pleads his apology (transiently) from the example of all the generals, to whom the islands and cities of Asia Minor paid certain voluntary contributions, by which they purchased security to their merchants, and procured convoys for them to guard them against the pirates. It is true, indeed, that a man may exercise oppressions, and ransom allies very unseasonably. But in this case, a bare

(r) A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334. Liban. in Demofth. p. 75.

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bare * decree, an accusation in due form, a galley appointed to bring whom the general recalled; all this is fufficient to put a stop to abuses. But it is otherwise with regard to Philip's enterprifes. These cannot be checked either by decrees or menaces; and nothing will do this effectually, but railing troops, and fitting out

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"Your orators (fays he) cry out eternally to you, that " we must make choice either of peace or war; but " Philip does not leave this at our option, he who is " daily meditating some new enterprise against us. And " can we doubt but it was he who broke the peace, un-" less it is pretended, that we have no reason to complain " of him, as long as he thall forbear making any at-" tempts on Aftica and the Pirexus? But it will then be " too late for us to oppose him; and it is now we must prepare strong barriers against his ambitious deligns. "You ought to lay it down as a certain maxim, O Athe-" nians, that it is you he aims at; that he confiders you " as his most dangerous enemies; that your ruin only " can establish his tranquillity, and secure his conquests; " and that whatever he is now projecting, is merely " with the view of falling upon you, and of reducing " Athens to a state of subjection. And, indeed, can any " of you be fo vastly simple, as to imagine that Philip is " so greedy of a few paltry towns, (for what other " name can we bestow on those he now attacks?) that " he fubmits to fatigues, feafons, and dangers, merely " for the fake of gaining them; but that as for the " harbours, the arfenals, the gallies, the filver-mines, " and the immense revenues of the Athenians; that he, " I fay, confiders these with indifference, does not covet " them in the least, but will fuffer you to remain in quiet " possession of them?

"What conclusion are we to draw from all that has " been faid? Why, that so far from cashiering the army " we have in Thrace, it must be considerably re-inforced " and strengthened by new levies, in order, that as Philip

^{*} It was called Hagahos.

" has always one in readiness to oppress and enslave the Greeks, we, on our side, may always have one on foot,

" to defend and preserve them." There is reason to be-

lieve, that Demosthenes's advice was followed.

(s) The same year that this oration was spoke, Arym. bas, king of Molossus or Epirus, died. He was son of Alcetat, and had a brother called Neoptolemus, whose daughter Olympias was married to Philip. This Noo. ptolemus, by the credit and authority of his fon-in-law, was raised so high as to share the regal power with his eldest brother, to whom only it lawfully belonged. This first unjust action was followed by a greater. For after the death of * Arymbas, Philip played his part fo well, either by his intrigues or his menaces, that the Molossians expelled Æacidas, fon and lawful fucceffor to Arymbas, and established Alexander, son of Neoptolemus, sole king of Epirus. This prince, who was not only brother-inlaw, but fon-in-law to Philip, whose daughter Cleopatra he had married, as will be observed in the sequel, carried his arms into Italy, and there died. After this, Æacidas re-aicended the throne of his ancestors, reigned alone in Epirus, and transmitted the crown to his son, the famous Pyrrhus (fo famous in the Roman history) and fecond cousin to Alexander the Great, Alcetas being grandfather to both those monarchs.

Philip, after his expedition in Illyria and Thrace, turned his views towards Peloponnesus. (t) Terrible commotions prevailed at that time in this part of Greece. Lacedæmonia assumed the sovereignty of it, with no other right than of being the strongest. Argos and Messene being oppressed, had recourse to Philip. He had just before concluded a peace with the Athenians, who, on the faith of their orators who had been bribed by this prince, imagined he was going to break with the Thebans. However, so far from that, after having subdued

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power of This with his rather d Lacedæi an entire lately co authorit the fame Lacedæ nians to for the fafety m it was t their ut fented, be very if he d was no broke h it; and he had indeed the pul promif fide, th were a them v

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⁽s) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 465. (t) Demosth. in Philipp. ii. Liban, in Demosth.

Justin, book viii. ch. 6. curtails the genealogy of this prince, and confounds his succession.

Phocis, he divided the conquest with them. The Thebans embraced with joy the favourable opportunity which prefented itself, of opening him a gate through which he might pass into Peloponnesus, in which country, the inveterate hatred they bore to Sparta, made them soment divisions perpetually, and continue the war. They therefore solicited Philip to join with them, the Messenians and Argives, in order to humble in concert the

power of Lacedæmonia.

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This prince readily came into an alliance which fuited with his views. He proposed to the Amphyctions, or rather dictated to them, the decree which ordained that Lacedæmonia should permit Argos and Messene to enjoy an entire independence, purfuant to the tenor of a treaty lately concluded; and, upon pretence of not exposing the authority of the states-general of Greece, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to march that way. Lacedæmonia, being justly alarmed, requested the Athenians to fuccour them; and by an embassy pressed earnestly for the concluding of fuch an alliance as their common fafety might require. The feveral powers, whose interest it was to prevent this alliance from being concluded, user, their utmost endeavours to gain their ends. Philip reprefented, by his ambalfadors to the Athenians, that it would be very wrong in them to declare war against him; that if he did not break with the Thebans, his not doing to was no infraction of the treaties; that before he could have broke his word in this particular, he must first have given it; and that the treaties themselves proved manifestly, that he had not made any promise to that purpose. Philip indeed faid true, with regard to the written articles and the publick stipulations; but Æschines had made this promife by word of mouth in his name. On the other side, the ambassadors of Thebes, of Argos, and Messene, were also very urgent with the Athenians; and reproached them with having already fecretly favoured the Lacedæmonians but too much, who were the professed enemies to the Thebans, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus.

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(u) But Demosthenes, insensible to all these solicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real interest of his country, ascended the tribunal, in order to inforce the negociation of the Lacedæmonians. He reproached the Athenians, according to his usual custom, with supineness and indolence. He exposes the ambitious defigns of Philip, which he still pursues; and declares that they aim at no less than the conquest of all Greece. "You excell (fays he to them) both you and he, in that circumstance which is the object of your application and " your cares. You speak in a better manner than him, " and he acts better than your. The experience of the " past, ought at least to open your eyes; and make you " more suspicious and circumspect with regard to him: " but this ferves to no other purpose than to lull you " afleep. At this time his troops are marching towards " Peloponnefus; he is fending money to it, and his ar-" rival in person, at the head of a powerful army, is " expected every moment. Do you think that you will " be secure, after he shall have possessed himself of the " territories round you? Art has invented, for the fecurity of cities, various methods of defence, as ramparts, " walls, ditches, and the like works; but nature furrounds " the wife with a common bulwark, which covers them " on all fides, and provides for the fecurity of states. "What is this bulwark? It is diffidence." He concludes with exhorting the Athenians to rouse from their lethargy; to fend immediate fuccour to the Lacedamonians; and, above all, to punish directly all such domestick traitors as have deceived the people, and brought their present calamities upon them, by spreading falle reports, and employing captious affurances.

The Athenians and Philip did not yet come to an open rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delayed his invasion of Poloponnesus, in order that he might not have too many enemies upon his hands at the same time. However, he did not sit still, but turned his views another way. Philip had a long time considered

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Eubœa as proper, from its situation, to savour the designs he meditated against Greece; and, in the very beginning of his reign, had attempted to possess himself of it. He indeed fet every engine to work at that time, in order to feise upon that island, which he called the Shackles of But it nearly concerned the Athenians, on the other side, not to suffer it to fall into the hands of an enemy; especially as it might be joined to the continent of Attica by a bridge. However, that people, according to their usual custom, continued indolent whilst Philip purfued his conquefts. The latter, who was continually attentive and vigilant over his interest, endeavoured to carry on an intelligence in the island, and by dint of presents bribed those who had the greatest authority in it. (x) At the request of certain of the inhabitants, he sent fome troops privately thither; possessed himself of several strong places; difmantled Porthmos, a very important fortress in Euboea, and established three tyrants or kings over the country. He also seised upon Oreum, one of the strongest cities of Euboea, of which it possessed the fourth part; and established five tyrants over it, who exercifed an absolute authority there in his name.

(y) Upon this, Plutarch of Eretria fent a deputation to the Athenians, conjuring them to come and deliver that island, every part of which was upon the point of submitting entirely to the Macedonian. The Athenians, upon this, sent some troops under the command of Phocion. (z) That general had already acquired great reputation, and will have, in the sequel, a great share in the administration of affairs, both foreign and domestick. He had studied in the academy under Plato, and afterwards under Xenocrates, and in that school had formed his morals and his life, upon the model of the most austere virtue. We are told that no Athenian ever faw him laugh, weep, or go to the publick baths. Whenever he went into the country, or was in the army, he always walked

(x) Demosth. Philipp. iii. p. 93. (y) Plutarch. in Phoc. p. 746, 747. (z) 1bid. p. 743. 745.

walked barefoot, * and without a cloak, unless the weather happened to be insupportably cold; so that the soldiers used to say laughing, See, Phocion has got his cloak on; it

is a fign of a hard winter.

He knew that eloquence is a necessary quality in a statesman, for enabling him to execute happily the great deligns he may undertake during his administration. He therefore applied himself particularly to the attainment of it, and with great fuccess. Persuaded that it is with words as with coins, of which the most esteemed are those that with less weight have most intrinsick value; Phocion had formed himself to a lively, close, concise stile, which expressed a great many ideas in few words. Appearing one day absent in an assembly, where he was preparing to speak, he was asked the reason of it: I am considering, says he, whether it is not possible for me to retrench any part of the discourse I am to make. He was a strong reasoner, and by that means carried every thing against the most sublime eloquence; which made Demosthenes, who had often experienced this, whenever he appeared to harangue the publick, fay, There is the ax which cuts great the effects of my words. One would imagine, that that this kind of eloquence is absolutely contrary to the genius of the vulgar, who require the same things to be often repeated, and with greater extent, in order to their being the more intelligible. But it was not fo with the Athenians: Lively, penetrating, and lovers of a hidden fense, they valued themselves upon understanding an orator at half a word, and really understood him. Phocion adapted himself to their taste, and in this point surpassed even Demosthenes; which is faying a great deal.

Phocion observing that those persons, who at this time were concerned in the administration, had divided it into military and civil; that one part, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, confined themselves merely to haranguing the people, and proposing decrees; that the other part, as Diopithes, Leosthenes, and Chares, advanced themselves by military employments;

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he chose rather to imitate the conduct of Solon, Aristides, and Pericles, who had known how to unite both talents, the arts of government with military valour. Whilft he was in employment, peace and tranquillity were always his object, as being the end of every wife government; and yet commanded in more expeditions, not only than all the generals of his time, but even than all his predecessors. He was honoured with the supreme command five-and-forty times, without having once asked or made interest for it; and was always appointed to command the armies in his absence. The world was astonished, that, being of so severe a turn of mind, and so great an enemy to flattery of every kind, how it was poffible for him, in a manner to fix in his own favour the natural levity and inconstancy of the Athenians, though he frequently used to oppose very strenuously their will and caprice, without regard to their captiousness and delicacy. The idea they had formed to themselves of his probity and zeal for the publick good, extinguished every other opinion of him; and that, according to Plutarch, generally. made his eloquence fo efficacious and triumphant.

I thought it necessary to give the reader this idea of Phocion's character, because frequent mention will be made of him in the sequel. It was to him the Athenians gave the command of the forces they sent to the aid of Plutarch of Eretria. But this traitor repaid his benefactors with ingratitude, set up the standard against them, and endeavoured openly to repulse the very army he had requested. However, Phocion was not at a loss how to act upon this unforeseen persidy; for he pursued his enterprise, won a battle, and drove Plutarch from Eretria.

After this great success, Phocion returned to Athens; but he was no sooner gone, than all the allies regretted the absence of his goodness and justice. Though the professed enemy of every kind of oppression and extortion, he knew how to infinuate himself into the minds of men with art; and at the same time he made others fear him, he had the rare talent of making them love him still more. He one day made Chabrias a fine answer, who appointed

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him to go with ten light vessels to raise the tribute which certain cities, in alliance with Athens, paid every year. To what purpose, says he is such a squadron? Too strong, if I am only to visit allies; but too weak, if I am to sight enemies. The Athenians knew very well, by the consequences, the signal service which Phocion's great capacity, valour and experience, had done them in the expedition of Eubœa. For Molossus, who succeeded him, and who took upon himself the command of the troops after that general, was so unsuccessful, that he fell into the hands

of the enemy.

(a) Philip, who did not lay aside the design he had formed of conquering all Greece, changed the attack, and fought for an opportunity of distressing Athens another way. He knew that this city, from the barrenness of Attica, stood in greater want of foreign corn than any other. To dispose at discretion of their transports, and by that means starve Athens, he marches towards Thrace. from whence that city imported the greatest part of its provisions, with an intention to beliege Perinthus and Byzantium. To keep his kingdom in obedience during his absence, he left his son Alexander in it, with sovereign authority, though he was but fifteen years old. This young prince gave, even at that time, fome proofs of his courage; having defeated certain neighbouring states, subiect to Macedonia, who had confidered the king's absence as a very proper time for executing the defign they had formed of revolting. This happy fuccefs of Alexander's first expeditions was highly agreeable to his father, and at the fame time an earnest of what might be expected from But fearing left, allured by this dangerous bait, he should abandon humself inconfiderately to his vivacity and fire, he fent for him, in order to become his mafter, and form him in person for the trade of war.

Demosthenes still continued his invectives against the indolence of the Athenians, whom nothing could rouse from their lethargy; and also against the avarice of the orators, who, bribed by Philip, amused the people upon the

specious,

(a) A. M. 3664. Ant. J. C. 340. Demosth, pro Ctef. p. 486, 487

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orations, called the Philippicks.

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(b) "Whence comes it (fays he) that all the Greeks " formerly panted to strongly after liberty, and now run " so eagerly into servitude? The reason is, because " there prevailed at that time among the people, what " prevails no longer among us, that which triumphed " over the riches of the Persians; which maintained the " freedom of Greece; which never acted inconfistently " on any occasion either by sea or by land; but which, " being now extinguished in every heart, has entirely " ruined our affairs, and subverted the constitution of " Greece. It is that common hatred, that general de-" testation, in which they held every person who had a " foul abject enough to fell himfelf to any man who de-" fired either to enslave, or even corrupt Greece. " those times, to accept of a present was a capital crime, " which never failed of being punished with death. Nei-" ther their orators nor their generals exercised the scan-" dalous traffick, now become so common in Athens, " where a price is fet upon every thing, and where all "things are fold to the highest bidder.

(c) "In those happy times, the Greeks lived in a perfect "union, founded on the love of the publick good, and "the desire of preserving and defending the common limberty. But in this age, the states abandon one anomither, and give themselves up to reciprocal distrusts and

" jealousies. All of them, without exception, Argives, "Thebans, Corinthians, Lacedæmonians, Arcadians,

" and ourselves no less than others; all, all, I say, form a " separate interest; and this it is that renders the com-

" mon enemy fo powerful.

(d) "The fafety of Greece confifts therefore in our uniting together against this common enemy, if that be possible. But at least, as to what concerns each of us "in

⁽b) Philipp. iili p. 90. (c) Ibid. iv. p. 202. (d) Ibid. p 97.

"in particular, this incontestable maxim it is absolutely necessary to hold, that Philip attacks you actually at this time; that he has infringed the peace; that by seifing upon all the fortresses around you, he opens and prepares the way for attacking you yourselves; and that he considers us as his mortal enemies, because he knows that we only are able to oppose the ambitious designs

" he entertains of grasping universal power.

(e) "These consequently we must oppose with all " imaginable vigour; and for that purpose must ship off, " without loss of time, the necessary aids for Chersone-" fus and Byzantium; you must provide instantly whatever necessaries your generals may require; in fine, " you must concert together on such means as are most proper to fave Greece, which is now threatened with " the utmost danger. (f) Though all the rest of the "Greeks, O Athenians, should bow their necks to the " yoke, yet you ought to perfift in fighting always for " the cause of liberty. After such preparations, made in " presence of all Greece, let us excite all other states to " fecond us; let us acquaint every people with our refo-" lutions, and fend ambaffadors to Peloponnesus, Rhodes, " Chio, and especially to the king of Persia; for it is his " interest, as well as ours, to check the career of that " man."

The sequel will show, that Demosthenes's advice was followed almost exactly. At the time he was declaiming in this manner, Philip was marching towards Chersone-sus. He opened the campaign with the siege of Perinthus, a considerable city of Thrace. (g) The Athenians having prepared a body of troops to succour that place, the orators prevailed so far by their speeches, that Chares was appointed commander of the fleet. This general was universally despised, for his manners, oppressions, and mean capacity; but interest and credit supplied the place of merit on this occasion, and faction prevailed against the counsels of the most prudent and virtuous men, as happens

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⁽e) Philip. iii. p. 88. (f) Ibid. p. 94, 95. (g) Plutarch, in Phoc. P. 747.

pens but too often. The success answered the rashness of the choice which had been made: (h) but what could be expected from a general whose abilities were as small as his voluptuousness was great; who took along with him in his military expeditions, a band of musicians, both vocal and instrumental, who were in his pay, which was levied out of the monies appointed for the service of the sleet! In short the cities themselves, to whose succour he was sent, would not suffer him to come into their harbours; so that his sidelity being universally suspected, he was obliged to sail from coast to coast, buying the allies,

and contemned by the enemy.

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(i) In the mean time, Philip was carrying on the fiege of Perinthus with great vigour. He had thirty thousand chosen troops, and military engines of all kinds without number. He had raifed towers eighty cubits high, which far out-topped those of the Perinthians. He therefore had a great advantage in battering their walls. On one fide he shook the foundations of them by subterraneous mines; and on the other, he beat down whole angles of it with his battering-rams: nor did the belieged make a less vigorous resistance; for as soon as one breach was made, Philip was furprifed to fee another wall behind it, just raised. The inhabitants of Byzantium sent them all the fuccours necessary. The Asiatick satrapæ, or governors, by the king of Persia's order, whose assistance we observed the Athenians had requested, likewise threw forces into the place. Philip, in order to deprive the befleged of the fuccours the Byzantines gave them, went in person to form the siege of that important city, leaving half his army to carry on that of Perinthus.

He was desirous to appear (in outward show) very tender of giving umbrage to the Athenians, whose power he dreaded, and whom he endeavoured to amuse with fine words. At the times we now speak of, Philip, by way of precaution against their disgust of his measures, wrote a letter to them, in which he endeavours to take off the

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⁽b) Athen. 1. xii. p. 530.

⁽i) Diod. 1. xvi. p. 466-468.

edge of their refentments by reproaching them, in the strongest terms, for their infraction of the several treaties, which he boafts he had observed very religiously; this piece he interspersed very artfully (for he was a great master of eloquence) with fuch complaints and menaces, as are best calculated to restrain mankind, either from a principle of fear or shame. This letter is a master-piece in the original. A majestick and persuasive vivacity shines in every part of it; a strength and justness of reasoning sustained throughout; a plain and unaffected declaration of facts, each of which is followed by its natural confequence; a delicate irony; in fine, that noble and concife stile so proper for crowned heads. We might here very justly apply to Philip, what was faid of Cæfar, * That he handled the pen as well as he did the fword..

This letter is fo long, and besides is filled with so great a number of private facts (though each of thefe are important) that it will not admit of being reduced to extracts, or to have a connected abridgment made of it. I shall therefore cite but one passage, by which the reader may

form a judgement of the reft. " At the time of our most open ruptures (fays Philip " to the Athenians) you went no farther than to fit out " privateers against me; to seise and sell the merchants " that came to trade in my dominions; to favour any party " that opposed my measures; and to infest the places " subject to me by your hostilities: but now you carry " hatred and injuffice to fuch prodigious lengths, as even " to fend ambaffadors to the Persian, in order to excite " him to declare war against me. This must appear a " most astonishing circumstance; for before he had made " himself master of Egypt and Pheenicia, you had re-" folved, in the most solemn manner, that in case he " should attempt any new enterprise, you then would invite me, in common with the rest of the Greeks, to " unite our forces against him. And, nevertheless at " this time you carry your hatred to fuch a height, as to " negoci " been t

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"negociate an alliance with him against me. I have been told, that formerly your fathers imputed to Pissitratus, as an unpardonable crime, his having requested the succour of the Persian against the Greeks; and yet you do not blush to commit a thing which you were perpetually condemning in the person of your tyrants."

Philip's letter did him as much service as a good manifesto, and gave his pensioners in Athens a fine opportunity of justifying him to people, who were very defirous of eafing themselves of political inquietudes; and greater enemies to expence and labour, than to usurpation and tyranny. The boundlefs ambition of Philip, and the cloquent zeal of Demosthenes, were perpetually clashing. There was neither a peace nor a truce between them. The one covered very industriously, with a specious pretence, his enterprises and infractions of treaty; and the other endeavoured as strongly to reveal the true motives of them to a people, whose resolutions had a great influence with respect to the fate of Greece. On this occasion, Demosthenes was fensible how vastly necessary it was to eraze, as foon as possible, the first impressions which the perufal of this letter might make on the minds of the Athemans. Accordingly, that zealous patriot immediately alcends the tribunal. He at first speaks in an affirmative tone of voice, which is often more than half, and sometimes the whole proof in the eyes of the multitude. He affixes to the heavy complaints of Philip the idea of an express declaration of war; then to animate his fellow-citizens, to fill them with confidence in the resolution with which he inspires them, he assures them, that all things portend the ruin of Philip; Gods, Greeks, Persians, Macedonians, and even Philip himself. Demosthenes does not observe, in this harangue, the exact rules of refutation; he avoids contesting facts, which might have been disadvantageous, so happily had Philip disposed them, and so well had he supported them by proofs that seemed unanfwerable...

(k) The conclusion which this orator draws from all his

his arguments is this: " Convinced by these truths, O " Athenians, and strongly persuaded, that we can no " longer be allowed to affirm that we enjoy peace, (for " Philip has just now declared war against us by his letter, " and has long done the fame by his conduct) you ought " not to spare either the publick treasure, or the possessions of private persons; but when occasion shall require, " hafte to your respective standards, and set abler generals at your head than those you have hitherto employed. " For no one among you ought to imagine, that the same " men, who have ruined your affairs, will have abilities " to restore them to their former happy situation. " how infamous it is, that a man from Macedon should " contemn dangers to fuch a degree, that merely to ag-" grandise his empire, he should rush into the midst of " combats, and return from battle covered with wounds; " and that Athenians, whose hereditary right it is to obey " no man, but to impose law on others sword in hand; " that Athenians, I fay, merely through dejection of spirit " and indolence, should degenerate from the glory of " their ancestors, and abandon the interest of their coun-" try."

At the very time they were examining this affair, news was brought of the shameful reception Chares had met with from the allies, which raifed a general murmur among the people, who now, fired with indignation, greatly repented their having fent aid to the Byzantines. Phocion then rose up and told the people, " That they " ought not to be exasperated at the diffidence of the al-" lies, but at the conduct of the generals who had occa-" fioned it. For it is these (continued he) who render " you odious, and formidable even to those who cannot " fave themselves from destruction without your assist-"ance." And indeed Chares, as we have already observed, was a general without valour or military knowledge. His whole merit confisted in having gained a great afcendant over the people by the haughty and bold air he assumed. His presumption concealed his incapacity from

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(1) The people, struck with this discourse, immediately changed their opinion, and appointed Phocion himself to command a body of fresh troops, in order to succour the allies in the Hellespont. This choice contributed chiefly to the preservation of Byzantium. Phocion had already acquired great reputation, not only for his valour and ability in the art of war, but much more for his probity and difinterestedness. The Byzantines, on his arrival, opened their gates to him with joy, and lodged his foldiers in their houses, as their own brothers and children. The Athenian officers and foldiers, struck with the confidence reposed in them, behaved with the utmost prudence and modesty, and were entirely irreproachable in their Nor were they less admired for their courage; and in all the attacks they fultained, discovered the utmost intrepidity, which danger feemed only to improve. (m) Phocion's prudence, seconded by the brayery of his troops, foon forced Philip to abandon his defign upon Byzantium and Perinthus. He was beat out of the Hellespont, which diminished very much his fame and glory, for he hitherto had been thought invincible, and nothing been able to oppose him. Phocion took some of his ships, recovered many fortreffes which he had garrifoned, and having made feveral descents into different parts of his territories, he plundered all the open country, till a body of forces affembling to check his progress, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

(n) The Byzantines and Perinthians testified their gratitude to the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substance of which I shall repeat here. "Under Bosphoricus the pontiff * Damagetus after having decrees the people of Athens, by a very honourable decree, preserved by Demosthenes in one of his orations, the substantial properties after having decrees the properties after having decrees after having decrees the properties after having decrees after having

"Bosphoricus the pontiff, * Damagetus, after having de-"fired leave of the fenate to speak, faid, in a full assem-

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⁽¹⁾ A. M. 3665: Ant. J. C. 339. (m) Diod. 1. xvi, p. 468. Demosth. pro Ctef. p. 487, 488.

* He probably was the chief magistrate.

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" lence of the people of Athens towards the Byzantines " and Perinthians, united by alliance and their common origin, has never failed upon any occasion; that this benevolence, fo often fignalifed, has lately displayed it-" felf, when Philip of Macedon (who had taken up arms " to destroy Byzantium and Perinthus) battered our walls, burned our country, cut down our forests; that in a " feafon of fo great calamity, this beneficent people fuc-" coured us with a fleet of an hundred and twenty fail, " furnished with provisions, arms, and forces; that they " faved us from the greatest danger; in fine, that they " restored us to the quiet possession of our government, " our laws, and our tombs: the Byzantines and Perin-" thians grant, by decree, the Athenians to fettle in the " countries belonging to Perinthus and Byzantium; to " marry in them, to purchase lands, and to enjoy all the or prerogatives of citizens; they also grant them a distin-" guished place at publick shows, and the right of sitting " both in the senate and the assembly of the people, next " to the pontiffs: and further, that every Athenian, who " shall think proper to settle in either of the two cities " above-mentioned, shall be exempted from taxes of any " kind: that in the harbours, three statues of fixteen cu-" bits each shall be fet up, which statues shall represent " the people of Athens crowned by those of Byzantium " and Perinthus: and besides, that presents shall be sent " to the four folemn games of Greece, and that the crown " we have decreed to the Athenians, shall there be pro-" claimed; so that the same ceremony may acquaint all "the Greeks, both with the magnanimity of the Athe-" nians, and the gratitude of the Perinthians and Byzantines."

The inhabitants of Chersonessus made a like decree, the tenor of which is as follows: "Among the nations inha"biting the Chersonessus, the people of Sestos, of Ælia,
"of Madytis, and of Alopeconnessus, decree to the people
"and senate of Athens, a crown of gold of sixty talents";
"and erect two altars, the one to the Goddess of Grati"tude,

^{*} Sixty theufand French crowns.

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the nha-Clia, ople s *; ratiude, "tude, and the other to the Athenians, for their having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, freed from the yoke of Philip the people of Chersonesus, and restored them to the possession of their country, their laws, their liberty, and their temples: an act of beneficence, which they shall fix eternally in their memories, and never cease to acknowledge to the utmost of their power.

All which they have resolved in full senate."

(0) Philip, after having been forced to raife the siege of Byzantium, marched against Atheas, king of Scythia, from whom he had received some personal cause of discontent, and took his son with him in this expedition. Though the Scythians had a very numerous army, he deseated them without any difficulty. He got a very great booty, which consisted not in gold or silver, the use and value of which the Scythians were not as yet so unhappy as to know; but in cattle, in horses, and a great number of women and children.

At his return from Scythia, the Triballi, a people of Mæsia, disputed the pass with him, laying claim to part of the plunder he was carrying off. Philip was forced to come to a battle, and a very bloody one was sought, in which great numbers on each side were killed on the spot. The king himself was wounded in the thigh, and with the same thrust had his horse killed under him, Alexander slew to his sather's aid, and, covering him with his shield, killed or put to slight all who attacked him.

(e) Juftin. 1. in. c. 2, 3.

SECT. VI. PHILIP, by his intrigues, gets himself appointed generalissimo of the Greeks, in the council of the Amphyetions. He possesses himself of Elatæa. The Athenians and Thebans, alarmed at the conquest of this city, unite against Philip. He makes overtures of peace, which, upon the remonstrances of Demosthenes, are rejected. A battle is fought at Cheronæa, where Philip gains a signal victory. Demosthenes is accused and brought to a trial by Æschines. The latter is banished and goes to Rhodes.

THE Athenians had considered the siege of Byzantium as an absolute rupture, and an open dec'araration of war. (p) The king of Macedon, who was apprehensive of the consequences of it, and dreaded very much the power of the Athenians, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself, made overtures of peace, in order to soften their resentments. Phocion, little suspicious, and apprehensive of the uncertainty of military events, was of opinion that the Athenians should accept his offers. But Demosthenes, who had studied more than Phocion the genius and character of Philip, and was persuaded that, according to his usual custom, his only view was to amuse and impose upon the Athenians, prevented their listening to his pacifick proposals.

(q) It was very much the interest of this prince to terminate immediately a war, which gave him great cause of disquiet, and particularly distressed him by the frequent depredations of the Athenian privateers, who insested the sea bordering upon his dominions. They entirely interrupted all commerce, and prevented his subjects from exporting any of the products of Macedonia into other countries; or foreigners from importing into his kingdom the merchandise it wanted. Philip was sensible that it would be impossible for him to put an end to this war, and free himself from the inconveniences attending it,

(p) A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338. Pluterch. in Phoc. p. 748.
(q) Demosth. pro Ctes. p, 497, 498.

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but by exciting the Thessalians and Thebans to break with Athens. He could not yet attack that city, with any advantage, either by sea or land. His naval forces were at this time inferior to those of that republick; and the passage by land to Attica would be shut against him, as long as the Thessalians should refuse to join him, and the Thebans should oppose his passage. If, with the view of prompting them to declare war against Athens, he should ascribe no other motive for it than his private enmity, he was very fensible that it would have no effect with either of the states: but that in case he could once prevail with them to appoint him their chief (upon the specious pretence of espousing their common cause) he then hoped it would be easier for him to make them acquiesce

with his defires, either by perfualion or deceit.

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This was his aim, the smallest traces of which it highly concerned him to conceal, in order not to give the least opportunity for any one to suspect the design he meditated. In every city he retained pensioners, who fent him notice of whatever passed, and by that means were of great use to him; and were accordingly well paid. their machinations he raised divisions among the Ozolæ of Locris, otherwise called the Locrians of Amphissa, from their capital city: their country was situated between Actolia and Phocis; and they were accused of having prophaned a fpot of facred ground, by ploughing up the Cirthean field, which lay very near the temple of Delphos. The reader has feen that a like cause of complaint occasioned the first sacred war. The affair was to be heard before the Amphyctions. Had Philip employed in his own favour any known or fuspicious agent, he plainly faw that the Thebans and the Thessalians would infallibly suspect his design, in which case, all parties would not fail to stand upon their guard.

But Philip acted more artfully, by carrying on his defigns by persons in the dark, which entirely prevented their taking air. By the affiduity of his pensioners in Athens, he had caused Æschines, who was entirely devoted to him, to be appointed one of the Pylagori, by which name those; were called, who were fent by the feveral Greek cities to the affembly of the Amphyctions. The inftant he came into it, he acted the more effectually in favour of Philip, as a citizen of Athens, which had declared openly against this prince, was less suspected. Upon his remonstrances, a descent was appointed, in order to visit the spot of ground, of which the Amphissians had hitherto been considered as the lawful possessor; but which they now were

accused of usurping, by a most facrilegious act.

Whilft the Amphyctions were visiting the spot of ground in question, the Locrians fall upon them unawares, pour in a thower of darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an outrage drew refentment and war upon these Lo. crians. Cottyphus, one of the Amphyctions, took the field with the army intended to punish the rebels; but many not coming to the rendezvous, the army retired without acting. In the following affembly of the Amphyctions, the affair was debated very feriously. It was there Æschines exerted all his eloquence, and, by a studied oration, proved to the deputies, or representatives, either that they must assess themselves to support foreign soldiers and punish the rebels, or else elect Philip for their gene-The deputies, to fave their commonwealth the expence, and fecure them from the dangers and fatigues of a war, resolved the latter. Upon which, by a publick decree, ambassadors were sent to Philip of Macedon, who, in the name of Apollo and the Amphyclions, implore his affilance; befeech him not to neglect the cause of that god, which the impious Amphissians make their sport; and notify to him. that for this purpose all the Greeks, of the council of the Amphystions, elect him for their general, with full power to all as he shall think proper.

This was the honour to which Philip had long aspired, the aim of all his views, and end of all the engines he had fet at work till that time. He therefore did not lose a moment, but immediately assembles his forces, and marches (by a feint) towards the Cirrhean field, forgetting now both the Cirrheans and Locrians, who had only served as a specious pretext for his journey, and for whom he had

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not the least regard; he possessed himself of Elatza, the greatest city in Phocis, standing on the river Cephissus; and the most happily situated for the design he meditated, of awing the Thebans, who now began to open their

eyes, and to perceive the danger they were in.

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(r) This news, being brought to Athens in the evening, spread a terrour through every part of it. The next morning an affembly was fummoned, when the herald, as was the usual custom, cries with a loud voice, Who among you will ascend the tribunal? (s) However, no person appears for that purpole; upon which he repeated the invitation feveral times, but still no one role up though all the generals and orators were prefent; and although the common voice of the country, with repeated cries, conjured fomebody to propose a falutary counsel: for, says Demolthenes, from whom these particulars are taken, whenever the voice of the herald speaks in the name of the laws, it ought to be confidered as the voice of the country. During this general filence, occasioned by the universal alarm with which the minds of the Athenians were leifed, Demosthenes, animated at the fight of the great danger his fellow-citizens were in, ascends the tribunal for harangues, and endeavours to revive the drooping Athenians, and inspire them with sentiments suitable to the present conjuncture, and the necessities of the state. Excelling equally in politicks and eloquence, by the extent of his fuperior genius, he immediately forms a counlel, which includes all that was necessary for the Athenians to act both at home and abroad, by land as well as by fea.

The people of Athens were under a double error, with regard to the Thebans, which he therefore endeavours to show. They imagined that people were inviolably attached, both from interest and inclination, to Philip; but he proves to them, that the majority of the Thebans waited only an opportunity to declare against that monarch; and that the conquest of Elatæa has apprised them of what they are to expect from him. On the other side, they

Vol. V. P looked

⁽r) Demosth. pro Ctef. p. 501-504. (s) Diod. l. xvi. p. 474-477.

looked upon the Thebans as their most ancient and most dangerous enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themselves to afford them the least aid in the extreme danger with which they were threatened. It must be confessed, that there had always been a declared enmity between the Thebans and Athenians, which rose so high, that Pindar was sentenced by the Thebans to pay a considerable fine, for having * applauded the city of Athens in one of his poems. Demosthenes, notwithstanding that prejudice had taken such deep root in the minds of the people, yet declares in their favour; and proves to the Athenians, that their own interest lies at stake; and that they could not please Philip more, than in leaving Thebes to his mercy, the ruin of which would open him a free passage to Athens.

Demosthenes afterwards discovers to them the views of Philip in taking that city. "What then is his design, " and wherefore did he possess himself of Elatæa? He " is defirous, on one fide, to encourage those of his fac-" tion in Thebes, and to inspire them with greater bold-" ness, by appearing at the head of his army, and ad-" vancing his power and forces around that city. On " the other side, he would strike unexpectedly the oppo-" fite faction, and stun them in such a manner, as may " enable him to get the better of it either by terrour or " force. Philip (fays he) prescribes the manner in which " you ought to act, by the example he himself sets you. " Assemble, under Eleusis, a body of Athenians, of an " age fit for service; and support these by your cavalry. " By this slep you will show all Greece, that you are " ready armed to defend yourfelves; and inspire your parit isans in Thebes with such resolution, as may enable "them both to support their reasons, and to make head " against the opposite party, when they shall perceive, " that as those who sell their country to Philip, have

* He had called Athens a fourishing and renowned city, the bulwark of Greece. Alwapat & Aoshipet, Enhados egetopa, natural Abrat. But the Athenians not only indemnified the poet, and fent him money to tay his fine, but even erested a flatue in honour of him. " force
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" forces in Elatæa ready to affift them upon occasion; in " like manner those, who are willing to fight for the " preservation of their own liberties, have you at their " gates ready to defend them in case of an invasion." Demosthenes added, that it would be proper for them to fend ambailadors immediately to the different states of Greece, and to the Thebans in particular, to engage

them in a common league against Philip.

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This prudent and falutary counsel was followed in every particular; and in consequence thereof a decree was formed, in which, after enumerating the feveral enterprises by which Philip had infringed the peace, it continues thus: " For this reason the senate and people " of Athens, calling to mind the magnanimity of their " ancestors, who preferred the liberty of Greece to the " fafety of their own country, have refolved, that after " offering up prayers and facrifices, to call down the " affiftance of the tutelar gods and demi-gods of Athens " and Attica, two hundred fail of ships shall be put to " fea. That the admiral of their fleet shall go, as foon " as possible, and cruise on the other side of the pass of "Thermopylæ: at the same time that the land-generals, " at the head of a confiderable body of horse and foot, " shall march and encamp in the neighbourhood of " Eleusis. That ambassadors shall likewise be sent to " the other Greeks; but first to the Thebans, as these " are most threatened by Philip. Let them be exhorted " not to dread Philip in any manner, but to maintain " courageously their particular independence, and the " common liberty of all Greece. And let it be declared " to them, that though formerly fome motives of discon-" tent might have cooled the reciprocal friendship between " them and us, the Athenians however, obliterating the " remembrance of past transactions, will now affist them " with men, money, darts, and all kind of military " weapons; perfuaded, that fuch as are natives of Greece " may, very honourably, dispute with one another for " pre-eminence; but that they can never, without fully-" ing the glory of the Greeks, and derogating from the "virtue of their ancestors, suffer a foreigner to despoil them of that pre-eminence, nor consent to so igno-

" minious a flavery."

(1) Demosthenes, who was at the head of this embassly, immediately set out for Thebes; and indeed, he had no time to lose, since Philip might reach Attica in two days. This prince also sent ambassadors to Thebes. Among these * Python was the chief, who distinguished himself greatly by his lively persuasive eloquence, which it was scarce possible to withstand; so that the rest of the deputies were meer novices in comparison to him: however he here met with a superior. (u) And, indeed, Demosthenes, in an oration, where he relates the services he had done the commonwealth, expatiates very strongly on this, and places the happy success of so important a negociation at the head of his political exploits.

(x) It was of the utmost importance for the Athenians to draw the Thebans into the alliance, as they were neighbours to Attica, and covered it; had troops excellently well disciplined, and had been considered, from the famous victories of Leuctra and Mantinea, among the several states of Greece, as those who held the first rank for valour and ability of war. To effect this was no easy matter; not only because of the great service Philip had lately done them during the war of Phocis, but likewise because of the ancient inveterate antipathy

of Thebes and Athens.

Philip's deputies spoke first. These displayed, in the strongest light, the kindnesses with which Philip had loaded the Thebans, and the innumerable evils which the Athenians had made them suffer. They represented to the utmost advantage, the great benefit they might reap from laying Attica waste, the flocks, goods, and power of which would be carried into their city; whereas, by joining in league with the Athenians, Boeotia would thereby

(t) Plut. in Demosth. p. 853. 854. (u) Demosth. in Orat. pro Coron. p. 509. (x) Ibid.

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^{*} This Python was of Byzantium. which he went over to Philip.
The Athenians had presented him Demosth. p. 193. 745.

thereby become the seat of war, and would alone suffer the losses, depredations, burnings, and all the other calamities which are the inevitable consequences of it. They concluded with requesting, either that the Thebans would join their forces with those of Philip against the A henians; or, at least, permit him to pass through their territories to enter Attica.

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The love of his country, and a just indignation at the breach of faith and usurpations of Philip, had already fufficiently animated Demosthenes. But the fight of an orator, who feemed to dispute with him the superiority of eloquence inflamed his zeal, and heightened his vivacity still more. To the captious arguments of Python he opposed the actions themselves of Philip, and particularly the late taking of Elatæa, which evidently discovered his He represented him as a restless, enterprising, ambitious, crafty, perfidious prince, who had formed the delign of enflaving all Greece; but who, to fucceed the better in his schemes, was determined to affack the different states of it fingly: a prince, whose pretended beneficence was only a fnare for the credulity of those who did not know him, in order to difarm those whose zeal for the publick liberty might be an obstacle to his enter-He proved to them, that the conquest of Attica, fo far from fatiating the immeasureable avidity of this usurper, would only give him an opportunity of subjecting Thebes, and the rest of the cities of Greece. That therefore the interests of the two commonwealths being henceforward inseparable, they ought to erase entirely the remembrance of their former divisions, and unite their forces to repel the common enemy.

(y) The Thebans were not long in determining. The strong eloquence of Demosthenes, fays an historian, blowing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so warm a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that banishing from their minds every idea of fear, of prudence, or gratitude, his discourse transported and ravished them like a fit of enthusiasm, and

(y) Theopom. apud Plut, in vit. Demosth. p. 854.

we have a proof of the mighty ascendant which eloquence has over the minds of men, especially when it is heightened by a love and zeal for the publick good. One single man swayed all things at his will in the assemblies of Athens and Thebes, where he was equally loved, respect-

ed, and feared.

Philip, quite disconcerted by the union of these two nations, fent ambaffadors to the Athenians, to request them not to levy an armed force, but to live in harmony However, they were too justly alarmed and exasperated, to listen to any accommodation; and would no longer depend on the word of a prince whose whole aim was to deceive. In consequence, preparations for war were made with the utmost diligence, and the foldiery discovered incredible ardour. However, many evil-disposed persons endeavoured to extinguish or damp it, by relating fatal omens and terrible predictions, which the prieftels of Delphos was faid to have uttered: but Demosthenes, confiding firmly in the arms of Greece, and encouraged wonderfully by the number and bravery of the troops, who defired only to march against the enemy, would not fuffer them to be amused with these oracles and frivolous predictions. It was on this occasion he faid, that the priestess Philippized, meaning, that it was Philip's money that inspired the priestess, opened her mouth, and made the god speak whatever she thought proper. He bade the Thebans remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who confidered these oracles and predictions as idle scare-crows, and confulted only their reason. The Athenian army set out immediately, and marched to Eleusis; and the Thebans, furprifed at the diligence of their confederates, joined them, and waited the approach of the enemy.

Philip on the other fide not having been able to prevent the Thebans from uniting with Athens, nor to draw the latter into an alliance with him, affembles all his forces, and enters Bœotia. This army confifted of thirty thoufand foot and two thousand horse: that of his enemy was not might he what what was aprains have op been unhad exegenerals tinguith. It is the

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was not quite so numerous. The valour of the troops might have been said to have been equal on both sides; but the merit of the chiefs was not so. And, indeed, what warrior was comparable to Philip at that time? Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus, all famous Athenian captains, were not his superiors. Phocion, indeed, might have opposed him; but not to mention that this war had been undertaken against his advice, the contrary faction had excluded him the command, and had appointed generals Chares, universally despised, and Lysicles, distinguished for nothing but his rash and daring audacity. It is the choice of such leaders as these, by the means of cabal alone, that paves the way to the ruin of states.

The two armies encamped near Chæronia, a city of Bæotia. Philip gave the command of his left wing to his fon Alexander, who was then but fixteen or seventeen years old, having posted his ablest officers near him; and took the command of the right wing upon himself. In the opposite army, the Thebans formed the right wing,

and the Athenians the left.

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At fun-rife, the fignal was given on both fides. The battle was bloody, and the victory a long time dubious, both fides exerting themselves with astonishing valour and bravery. Alexander, at that time, animated with a noble ardour for glory, and endeavouring to fignalise himself, in order to answer the considence his father reposed in him, under whose eye he fought in quality of a commander (the first time) discovered in this battle all the capacity which could have been expected from a veteran general, with all the intrepidity of a young warrior. It was he who broke, after a long and vigorous resistance the sacred battalion of the Thebans, which was the flower of their army. The rest of the troops who were round Alexander, being encouraged by his example, entirely routed them.

On the right wing, Philip, who was determined not to yield to his fon, charged the Athenians with great vigour, and began to make them give way. However, they foon refumed their courage, and recovered their first

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post. (2) Lysicles, one of the two generals, having broke into some troops which formed the centre of the Macedonians, imagined himself already victorious, and in that rash confidence cried out, Come on, my lads, let us pursue them into Macedonia. Philip, perceiving that the Athenians, instead of seising the advantage of taking his phalanx in flank, purfued his troops too vigoroufly, cried out with a calm tone of voice, The Athenians do not know how to conquer. Immediately he commanded his phalanx to wheel about to a little eminence; and perceiving that the Athenians, in diforder, were wholly intent on pursuing those they had broke, he charged them with his phalanx, and attacking them both in flank and rear, entirely routed them. Demosthenes, who was a greater statesman than a warrior, and more capable of giving wholesome counsel in his harangues, than of supporting them by an intrepid courage, threw down his arms and fled with the rest. (a) It is even faid, that in his flight his robe being catched by a bramble, he imagined that some of the enemy had laid hold of him, cried out, Spare my life. More than a thousand Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above two thousand taken prisoners, among whom was Demades the orator. The lofs was as great on the Theban fide.

Philip, after having fet up a trophy, and offered to the gods a facrifice of thanksgiving for his victory, distributed rewards to the officers and soldiers, each according to his

merit and the rank he held.

His conduct after this victory shows, that it is much easier to overcome an enemy, than to conquer one's self, and triumph over one's own passions. Upon his coming from a grand entertainment which he had given his officers, being equally transported with joy and the sumes of wine, he hurried to the spot where the battle had been fought, and there, insulting the dead bodies with which the field was covered, he turned into a song the beginning of the decree which Demosthenes had prepared to excite the Greeks to this war; and sung thus (himself beating

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⁽a) Polyæn, Stratag. lib. iv. (a) Plut. in vit. decem Orat. p. 845.

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time) Demosthenes the Peanian, son of Demosthenes has said. Every body was shocked to see the king dishonour himself by this behaviour, and sully his glory by an action so unworthy a king and a conqueror; but no one opened his lips about it. Demades the orator, whose soul was free though his body was a prisoner, was the only person who ventured to make him sensible of the indecency of this conduct, telling him, Ah, Sir, since fortune has given you the part of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act that of Thersites? These words, spoke with so generous a liberty, opened his eyes, and made him turn them inward: and, so far from being displeased with Demades, he esteemed him the more for them, treated him with the utmost respect and friendship, and conferred all possible honours upon him.

From this moment Philip feemed quite changed, both in his disposition and behaviour, as if, says * an historian, the conversation of Demades had softened his temper, and introduced him to a familiar acquaintance with the Attick graces. He dismissed all the Athenian captives without any ranfom, and gave the greatest part of them cloathes; with the view of acquiring the conscience of fo powerful a commonwealth as Athens by that kind of treatment: in which, fays Polybius (b), he gained a fecond triumph, more glorious for himself and even more advantageous than the first; for in the battle his courage had prevailed over none but those who were prefent in it; but on this occasion, his kindness and clemency acquired him a whole city, and subjected every heart to him. He renewed with the Athenians the ancient treaty of friendship and alliance, and granted the Boeotians, a peace, after having left a strong garrison in Thebes.

(c) We are told that Isocrates, the most celebrated rhetorician of that age, who loved his country with the utmost tenderness, could not survive the loss and ignoming with which it was covered, by the loss of the battle of Chæronea. The instant he received the news of it, being uncertain

⁽b) Polyb. 1. v. p. 359. (c) Plut. in Isocr. p. 887.

[&]quot; Υπό το Δημάδυ καθομιληθέντας τας 'Ατλικαίς χαςισι. Djod.

uncertain what use Philip would make of his victory, and determined to die a freeman, he hastened his end by abstaining from food. He was fourscore and eighteen years of age. I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere of his stile and of his works.

Demosthenes feemed to have been the principal cause of the terrible shock which Athens received at this time, and which gave its power fuch a wound, as it never re-(d) But at the very instant that the Athenians heard of this bloody overthrow, which affected fo great a number of families, when it would have been no wonder, had the multitude, seised with terrour and alarms, given way to an emotion of blind zeal, against the man whom they might have confidered in some measure as the author of this dreadful calamity; even at this very instant, I fay, the people submitted entirely to the counsels of Demos. The precautions that were taken to post guards, to raise the walls, and to repair the fosses, were all in consequence of his advice. He himself was appointed to fupply the city with provisions, and to repair the walls, which latter commission he executed with so much generosity, that it acquired him the greatest honour; and for which, at the request of Ctefiphon, a crown of gold was decreed him, as a reward for his having prefented the commonwealth with a fum of money out of his own estate, sufficient to defray what was wanting of the sums for repairing the walls.

On the present occasion, that is, after the battle of Chæronea, such orators as opposed Demosthenes, having all risen up in concert against him, and having cited him to take his trial according to law, the people not only declared him innocent of the several accusations laid to his charge, but conferred more honours upon him than he had enjoyed before; so strongly did the veneration they had for his zeal and sidelity overbalance the efforts of

calumny and malice.

The Athenians (a fickle wavering people, and apt to punish their own errors and omissions in the person of those

4d) Demosth, pro Ctes, p. 514. Plut, in Demosth. p. 855.

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those whose projects were often rendered abortive, for no other reason but because they had executed them too flowly) in thus crowning Demosthenes, in the midst of a publick calamity which he alone feemed to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious homage to his abilities and integrity. By this wife and brave conduct, they feem in some measure to confess their own error, in not having followed his counfel neither fully nor early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the evils which had befallen them.

(e) But the people did not stop here. The bones of fuch as had been killed in the battle of Chræronea, having been brought to Athens to be interred, they appointed Demosthenes to compose the eulogium of those brave men; a manifest proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill success of the battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human events at pleasure; a circumstance which was expressly mentioned in the inscription engraved on the monument of those illustrious deceased warriors.

This earth entombs those victims to the flate, Who fell a glorious fact fice to zeal. Greece, on the point of wearing tyrant chains, Did, by their deaths alone, escape the yoke. This Jupiter decreed: No effort, mortals, Can fave you from the mighty will of fate. To gods alone belong the attribute Of being free from crimes with never-ending joy.

(f) Demosthenes opposed Æschines, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasioned the loss of the battle in question, with this folid answer: " Cen-" fure me (fays he) for the counsels I give; but do not " calumniate me for the ill success of them. For it is " the Supreme Being who conducts and terminates all " things; whereas it is from the nature of the counfel " itself that we are to judge of the intention of him who

(e) Plut, in Demosth. p. 855. Demosth. pro Ctel. p. 519, 520.

(f) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 505.

" offers it. If therefore the event has declared in favour of Philip, impute it not to me as a crime, fince it is God, and not myself, who disposed of the victory.

"But if you can prove that I did not exert myself with probity, vigilance, and an activity indifatigable, and superiour to my strength: if with these I did not seek,

" I did not employ every method which human prudence could fuggest; and did not inspire the most necessary and noble resolutions, such as were truly worthy of

" Athenians; show me this, and then give what scope

" you please to your accusations."

(g) He afterwards uses the bold, sublime figure following, which is looked upon as the most beautiful passage in his oration, and is fo highly applauded by Longinus (h). Demosthenes endeavours to justify his own conduct, and prove to the Athenians, that they did not do wrong in giving Philip battle. He is not fatisfied with merely citing in a frigid manner the example of the great men who had fought for the fame cause in the plains of Marathon, at Salamis, and before Platææ: no, he makes a quite different use of them, fays this rhetorician; and on a fudden, as if inspired by some god, and possessed with the spirit of Apollo himself, cries out, swearing by those brave defenders of Greece: No, Athenians! you have not erred. I swear by those illustrious men who fought on land at Marathon and Plataa; at sea before Salamis and Artemisium; and all those who have been honoured by the commonwealth with the solemn rites of burial; and not those only who have been crowned with success, and came off victorious. Would not one conclude, adds Longinus, that by changing the natural air of the proof, in this grand and pathetick manner of affirming by oaths of fo extraordinary a nature, he deifies, in some measure, those ancient citizens; and makes all who die in the fame glorious manner fo many gods, by whose names it is proper to fwear?

I have already observed in another place, how naturally

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⁽e) Demosth, pro. Ctes. p. 508. (p) Longin, de sublim. c. xiv.

apt these * orations (spoke in a most solemn manner, to the glory of those who lost their lives in fighting for the cause of liberty) were to inspire the Athenian youth with an ardent zeal for their country, and a warm defire to

fignalife themselves in battle.

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(i) Another ceremony observed with regard to the children of those whose fathers died in the bed of honour. was no less efficacious to inspire them with the love of In a celebrated feltival, in which shows were exhibited to the whole people, an herald came upon the flage, and producing the young orphans dreffed in complete armour, he faid with a loud voice: "These young " orphans, whom an untimely death in the midst of " dangers has deprived of their illustrious fathers, have " found in the people a parent, who has taken care of " them till no longer in a state of infancy. And now " they fend them back, armed cap-a-pee, to follow, " under the most happy auspices, their own affairs, and " invite each of them to emulate each other in deferving " the chief employments of the state." By such methods martial bravery, the love of one's country, and a tafte for virtue and folid glory, are perpetuated in a state.

It was the very year of the battle of Chæronea, and two years before the death of Philip, that Æschines drew up an accufation against Ctesiphon, or rather against Demosthenes: but the cause was not pleaded till seven or eight years after, about the fifth or fixth year of the reign of Alexander. I shall relate the event of it in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the history of the life and

actions of that prince.

No cause ever excited so much curiofity, nor was pleaded with so much pomp. + People flocked to it from all parts (fays Cicero) and they had great reason for so

doing;

(i) Æschin. contra Ctesiph. p. 452. * Demosthenes, in his oration against Leptines, p. 562. observes, that the Athenians were the only people who caused funeral orations to be spoken in honour of such persons, as bad lest their lives in the defence of their country.

+ Ad quod judicium concursus dicitur è tota Græcia factus esse. Quid enim aut tam vifendum, aut tam audiendum fuit, quam fummorum oratorum, in gravissima causa, accurata & inimicitiis incenfa, contentio? Cicer. de opt. gen. orat. n. 22. doing; for what fight could be nobler, than a conflict between two orators, each of them excellent in his way; both formed by nature, improved by art, and animated by perpetual diffensions, and an implacable animosity against each other?

These two orations have always been considered as the master-pieces of antiquity, especially that of Demosthenes.

(k) Cicero had translated the latter, a strong proof of the high opinion he entertained of it. Unhappily for us, the preamble only to that performance is now extant, which suffices to make us very much regret the loss of the rest.

Amidst the numberless beauties which are conspicuous in every part of these two orations, methinks there appears, if I may be allowed to censure the writings of fuch great men, a confiderable error, that very much lessens their perfection, and which appears to me directly repugnant to the rules of folid just eloquence; and that is, the gross injurious terms in which the two orators reproach one another. The same objection has been made to Cicero, with regard to his orations against Anthony. I have already declared, that this manner of writing, this kind of gross, opprobrious expressions, were the very reverse of folid eloquence; and indeed every speech, which is dictated by passion and revenge, never fails of being fuspected by those who judge of it; whereas an oration that is strong and invincible from reason and argument, and which at the fame time is conducted with referve and moderation, wins the heart, whilst it informs the understanding; and persuades no less by the esteem it inspires for the orator, than by the force of his arguments.

The juncture feemed to favour Æschines very much; for the Macedonian party, whom he always befriended, was very powerful in Athens, especially after the ruin of Thebes. Nevertheless, Æschines lost his cause, and was justly sentenced to banishment for his rash accusation. He thereupon went and settled himself in Rhodes, where he opened a school of eloquence, the same and glory of

(1) De opt. gen. orat.

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which continued for many ages. He began his lectures with the two orations that had occasioned his banishment. Great encomiums were given to that of Æschines; but when they heard that of Demosthenes, the plaudits and acclamations were redoubled: and it was then he spoke these words, so greatly laudable in the mouth of an enemy and a rival; But what applauses would you not have bestowed, had you heard Demosthenes speak it himself!

To conclude, the victor made a good use of his conquest: for the instant Æschines lest Athens, in order to embark for Rhodes, Demosthenes ran after him, and sorced him to accept of a purse of money; which must have obliged him so much the more, as he had less room to expect such an offer. On this occasion Æschines cries out: * How will it be possible for me not to regret a country, in which I leave an enemy more generous, that I can hope to find friends in any other part of the world!

SECT. VII. Philip, in the affembly of the Amphystions, is declared general of the Greeks against the Persians, and prepares for that expedition. Domestick troubles in his houshold. He divorces Olympias, and marries another lady. He solemnizes the marriage of Cleopatra his daughter with Alexander king of Epirus, and is killed at the nuptials.

(1) THE battle of Chæronea may be faid to have enflaved Greece. Macedon at that time, with no more than thirty thousand foldiers, gained a point, which Persia, with millions of men, had attempted unsuccessfully at Platææ, at Salamis, and at Marathon. Philip, in the first years of his reign, had repulsed, divided, and disarmed his enemies. In the succeeding ones, he had subjected by artifice or force, the most powerful states of Greece, and had made himself its arbiter; but

(1) A. M. 3667. Ant. J. C. 337.

^{*} Some authors ascribe these words Æschines. and was also banished to Demosthenes, when, three years from Athens, after, he met with the same sate as

but now he prepares to revenge the injuries which Greece had received from the Barbarians, and meditates no lefs a defign, than the destruction of their empire. (m) The greatest advantage he gained by his last victory (and this was the object he long had in view, and never lost fight of) was, to get himself appointed in the assembly of the Greeks, their generalissimo against the Persians. In this quality he made preparations, in order to invade that mighty empire. He nominated, as leaders of part of his forces, Attalus and Parmenio, two of his captains, on whose valour and wisdom he chiefly relied, and made them set out for Asia minor.

(n) But whilst every thing abroad was glorious and happy for Philip, he found the utmost uneasiness at home; divition and trouble reigning in every part of his family. The ill temper of Olympias, who was naturally jealous, choleric and vindictive, raised dissensions perpetually in it, which made Philip almost out of love with life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defiled the marriage-bed, it is said, that his confort had repaid his insidelity in kind. But whether he had a just subject of complaint, or was grown weary of Olympias, it is certain he proceeded so far as to divorce her. Alexander, who had been disgusted upon several other accounts, was highly offended at this treatment of his mother.

Philip, after divorcing Olympias, married Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, a very young lady, whose beauty was so exquisite, that he could not resist its charms. In the midst of their rejoicings upon occasion of the nuptials, and in the heat of wine, Attalus, who was uncle to the new queen by the mother's side, took it into his head to say, that the Macedonians ought to beseech the gods to give them a lawful successor to their king. Upon this, Alexander, who was naturally choleric, exasperated at these injurious words, cried out, Wretch that thou art, dost thou then take me for a bastard? and at the same time slung the cup at his head. Attalus returned the compliment

(m) Diod, 1. 16. p. 479.

(n) Plut. in Alex. p. 669.

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ment, upon which the quarrel grew warmer. Philip, who fat at another table, was very much offended to fee the feast interrupted in this manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his fword and ran directly at his Happily, the father fell, so that the guests had an opportunity of stepping in between them. The greatest difficulty was, to keep Alexander from rushing upon his Exasperated at a succession of such heinous affronts, in spite of all the guests could say, concerning the duty he owed Philip as his father and his fovereign, he vented his refentments in the bitter words following: The Macedonians, indeed, have a captain there, vastly able to cross from Europe into Asia; he, who cannot step from one table to another, without running the hazard of breaking his neck. After these words, he left the hall, and taking Olympias, his mother, along with him, who had been fo highly affronted, he conducted her to Epirus, and himself went over to the Illyrians.

In the mean time, Demaratus of Corinth, who was engaged to Philip by the ties of friendship and hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arrived at his court. After the first civilities and caresses were over, Philip asked him, whether the Greeks were in amity? It indeed becomes you, Sir, replied Demaratus, to be concerned about Greece, who have filled your own house with feuds and dissenses. The prince, sensibly affected with this reproach, came to himself, acknowledged his error, and sent Demaratus to Alexander, to persuade him to re-

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(o) Philip did not lose sight of the conquest of Asia. Full of the mighty project he revolved, he consults the gods to know what would be the event of it. The priestess replied, The victim is already crowned, his end draws nigh, and he will soon be facrificed. Philip, hearing this, did not hesitate a moment, but interpreted the oracle in his own favour, the ambiguity of which ought at least to have kept him in some suspense. In order therefore

therefore that he might be in a condition to apply entirely to his expedition against the Persians, and devote himself folely to the conquest of Asia, he dispatches with all posfible diligence his domestick affairs. After this, he offers up a folemn facrifice to the gods; and prepares to celebrate with incredible magnificence in Egæ, a city of Macedonia, the nuptials of Cleopatra his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Alexander king of Epirus, and brother to Olympias his queen. He had invited to it the most considerable persons of Greece; and heaped upon them friendships and honours of every kind, by way of gratitude for electing him generalissimo of the Greeks. cities made their court to him in emulation of each other, by fending him gold crowns; and Athens distinguished its zeal above all the rest. Neoptolemus the poet had written, purposely, for that festival, a tragedy * entitled Cinyras, in which, under borrowed names, he represented this prince as already victor over Darius, and master of Asia. Philip listened to these happy presages with joy; and, comparing them with the answer of the oracle, assured himself of conquest. The day after the nuptials, games and shews were solemnized. As these formed part of the religious worship, there were carried in it, with great pomp and ceremony, twelve statues of the gods, carved with inimitable art. A thirteenth, that furpassed them all in magnificence, was that of Philip, which represented him as a god. The hour for his leaving the palace arrived, and he went forth in a white robe; and advanced with an air of majesty, in the midst of acclamations, towards the theatre, where an infinite multitude of Macedonians, as well as foreigners, waited his coming with impatience. His guards marched before and behind him, leaving, by his order, a confiderable space between themfelves and him, to give the spectators a better opportunity of furveying him; and also to shew that he considered the affections

mime, exhibited the same piece which Neoptolemus had represented the very day Philip was murdered. affections guard.

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^{*} Suetonius, among the presages of Caligula's death, who died in much the same manner as Philip, observes, that Mnester the Panto-

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affections which the Grecians bore him, as his fafest guard.

But all the festivity and pomp of these nuptials ended in the murder of Philip; and it was his refutal to do an act of justice, that occasioned his death. Some time before, Attalus, inflamed with wine at an entertainment, had infulted, in the most shocking manner, Pausanias, a The latter had long enyoung Macedonian nobleman. deavoured to revenge the cruel affront, and was perpetually imploring the king's justice. But Philip, unwilling to difgust Attalus, uncle to Cleopatra, whom, as was before observed, he had married after his divorcing Olympias his first queen, would never listen to Pausanias's complaints. However, to confole him in some measure, and to express the high efteem he had for, and the great confidence he reposed in him, he made him one of the chief officers of his life-guard. But this was not what the young Macedonian required, whose anger now swelling to fury against his judge, he forms the delign of wiping out his shame,

by imbruing his hands in a most horrid murder.

When once a man is determined to die, he is valtly frong and formidable. Paufanias, the better to put his bloody design in execution, chose the instant of that pompous ceremony, when the eyes of the whole multitude were fixed on the prince; doubtless to make his vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the injury for which he conceived he had a right to make the king responsible, as he had long solicited that prince in vain for the fatisfaction due to him. Seeing him therefore alone, in the great space which his guards left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a dagger, and lays him dead at his feet. Diodorus observes, that he was assassinated the very instant his statue entered the theatre. The affassin had prepared horses ready for his escape, and would have got off, had not an accident happened which stopped him, and gave the purluers time to overtake him. Paufanias was immediately tore to pieces upon the spot. Thus died Philip at forty-seven years of age, after having

(p) A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336.

having reigned twenty-four. Artaxerxes Ochus, king of

Persia, died also the same year.

(9) Demosthenes had private notice fent him of Philip's death, and in order to prepare the Athenians to refume their courage, he went to the council with an air of joy, and faid, That the night before he had a dream, which promifed fome great felicity to the Athenians, A little after, couriers arrived with the news of Philip's death, on which occasion the people abandoned themselves to the transports of immoderate joy, which far exceeded all bounds of decency. Demosthenes had particularly inspired them with these sentiments; for he himself appeared in public, crowned with a wreath of flowers, and drelled with the utmost magnificence, though his daughter had been dead but feven days. He also engaged the Athenians to offer facrifices, to thank the gods for the good news; and, by a decree, ordained a crown to Paulanias, who had committed the murder.

On this occasion Demosthenes and the Athenians acted quite out of character; and we can scarce conceive, how it came to pass that, in so detestable a crime as the murder of a king, policy, at least, did not induce them to dissemble such sentiments as reflected dishonour on them, without being at all to their advantage; and which snewed, that honour and probity were utterly extinct in their

minds.

SECT. VIII. Memorable actions and fayings of Philip. Good and bad qualities of that prince.

THERE are, in the lives of great men, certain facts and expressions, which often give us a better idea of their character than their most shining actions; because in the latter they generally study their conduct, act a borrowed part, and propose themselves to the view of the world; whereas in the former, as they speak and act from nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without art and disguise. M. de Tourreil has collected with

(4) Æschin, contra Ctesiph. p. 440.

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* Si'qui instrumen with fufficient industry most of the memorable actions and fayings of Philip, and he has been particularly careful to draw the character of this prince. The reader is not to expect much order and connexion, in the recital of

these detached actions and sayings.

Though Philip loved flattery, so far as to reward the adulation of Thrafideus with the title of king in Theffaly, he however at some intervals loved truth. He permitted (r) Aristotle to give him precepts on the art of reigning. He declared, that he was obliged to the Athenian orators for having corrected him of his errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a man in his fervice to tell him every day, before he gave audience, Philip,

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(s) He * discovered great moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking and injurious terms; and also, which is no lefs worthy of admiration, when truth was told him; a great quality (fays Seneca) in kings, and highly conducive to the happiness of their reign. close of an audience, which he gave to some Athenian amballadors who were come to complain of some act of hostility, he asked, whether he could do them any service? "The greatest service thou couldst do us (faid Demo-" chares) would be to hang thyfelf." Philip, though he perceived all the perfons prefent were highly offended at thele words, however made the following answer with the utmost calmness of temper: "Go, tell your superiors, " that those who dare make use of such insolent language, " are more haughty and lefs peaceably inclined than they " who can forgive them."

(t) Being prefent, in an indecent politure, at the fale of some captives, one of them going up to him, whilpered in his ear, Let down the lappet of your robe; upon which Phiup replied, Set the man at liberty; I did not know till now

that he was one of my friends.

(u) The whole court foliciting him to punish the ingratitude of the Peloponnesians, who had hissed him publickly

(r) Arist. Epist. Plutarch. in Apoph. p. 177. Ælian lib. 8. c. 15.

⁽s) Senec. de Ira, 1.3. c. 23. (t) Plut. (H) Plut. * Si quæ alia in Philippo virtus, fuit & contumeliarum patientia, ingens instrumentum ad tutelam regni.

lickly in the Olympick games; What won't they attempt (replied Philip) should I do them any injury, since they laugh at me, after having received so many favours at my band?

(x) His courtiers advising him to drive from him a certain person who spake ill of him; Yes, indeed (says he) and so he'll go and speak injuriously of me every where. Another time, that they advised him to dismiss a man of probity, who had reproached him: Let us first take care (says he) that we have not given him any reason to do so. Hearing afterwards that the person in question was but in poor circumstances, and in no favour with the courtiers, he was very bountiful to him; on which occasion his reproaches were changed into applauses, that occasioned another fine saying of this prince's: It is in the power of kings to make themselves beloved or hated.

(y) Being urged to affift, with the credit and authority he had with the judges, a person whose reputation would be quite lost, by the sentence which was going to be pronounced against him; I had rather (says he) he should

lose his reputation than I mine.

(z) Philip rifing from an entertainment, at which he had fat feveral hours, was addressed by a woman, who begged him to examine her cause, and to hear several reasons she had to alledge which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave sentence against her; upon which she replied very calmly, I appeal. How! (says Philip) from your king? To whom then? To Philip when fusting (replied the woman.) The manner in which he received this answer would do honour to the most sober prince. He afterwards gave the cause a second hearing; found the injustice of his sentence, and condemned himself to make it good.

(a) A poor woman used to appear often before him, to sue for audience, and to beseech him to put an end to her law-suit; but Philip always told her that he had no time. Exasperated at these results, which had been so often repeated, she replied one day with emotion; If you have

(x) Plut. In Apopth. (y) Plut. (z) Ibid. (a) Ibid.

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not time to do me justice, be no longer king. Philip was strongly affected with this rebuke, which a just indignation had extorted from this poor woman; and so far from being offended at it, he fatisfied her that instant, and afterwards became more exact in giving audience. He indeed was fentible, that a king and a judge are the fame thing; that the throne is a tribunal; that the fovereign authority is a supreme power, and at the same time an indispensible obligation to do justice; that to distribute it to his subjects, and to grant them the time necessary for that purpole, was not a favour, but a duty and a debt; that he ought to appoint persons to affist him in this function, but not to discharge himself absolutely from it; and that he was no less obliged to be a judge than a king. All these circumstances are included in this natural, unaffected, and very wife expression; * Be no longer king; and Philip comprehended all its force.

(b) He understood raillery, was very fond of smart sayings, and very happy at them himself. Having received a wound near the throat, and his surgeon importuning him daily with some new request: Take what thou

wilt, fays he, for thou haft me by the throat.

(c) It is also related, that after hearing two villains, who accused each other of various crimes, he banished

the one, and fentenced the other to follow him.

(d) Menecrates, the physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself Jupiter, wrote to Philip as follows: Menecrates Jupiter, to Philip greeting. Philip answered; Philip to Menecrates, health and reason +. But this king did not stop here; for he hit upon a pleasant remedy for his visionary correspondent. Philip invited him to a grand entertainment. Menecrates had a separate table at it, where nothing was served up to him but incense and persume, whilst all the other guests sed upon the most exquisite dainties. The first transports of joy with which he was seised, when he found his divinity acknowledged, made him forget that he was a man; but, hunger afterwards

(b) Plut. (c) Ibid. (d) Ælian. 1. xii. cap. 51.

^{*} Kai un Basileve. + The Greek word bytaires fignifies both thefe things.

wards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tired with the character of Jupiter, and took leave of the

company abruptly.

(e) Philip made an answer which redounded highly to the honour of his prime minister. That prince being one day reproached with devoting too many hours to sleep;

I indeed fleep, fays he, but Antipater wakes.

(f) Parmenio, hearing the ambassadors of all Greece murmuring one day because Philip lay too long in bed, and did not give them audience: Do not wonder, says he, if he sleeps whilst you wake; for he waked whilst you slept. By this he wittily reproached them for their supineness in neglecting their interests, whilst Philip was very vigilant in regard to his. This Demosthenes was perpetually observing to them with his usual freedom.

a new general every year. These did their duty by turns, and every general for the day commanded as generalissimo. But Philip joked upon this multiplicity of chiefs, and said, In my whole life I could never find but one general, (Parmenio) whereas the Athenians can find ten every year

at the very instant they want them.

The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle on the birth of his son, proves the regard that prince paid to learned men; and at the same time, the taste he himself had for the polite arts and sciences. The other letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less honour. But his great talent was that of war and policy, in which he was equalled by sew; and it is time to consider him under this double character. I beg the reader to remember, that M. de Tourreil is the author of most of the subsequent particulars, and that it is he who is going to give them the picture of king Philip.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this prince were more conspicuous as a warrior or a statesman. Surrounded from the very beginning of his reign, both at home and abroad, with powerful enemies, he employed artifice and force alternately to deseat them. He uses his

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(e) Plutarch. (f) Ibid. (g) Ibid in Apoph. p. 177.

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endeavours with fuccess to divide his opponents: to strike the surer, he cludes and diverts the blows which were aimed at himself; equally prudent in good and ill fortune, he does not abuse victory; as ready to pursue or wait for it, he either hastens his pace or slackens it, as necessity requires; he leaves nothing to the caprice of chance, but what cannot be directed by wisdom; in fine, he is ever immoveable, ever fixed in the just bounds which divide boldness from temerity.

In Philip we perceive a king who commands his allies as much as his own subjects, and is as formidable in treaties as in battles; a vigilant and active monarch, who is his own superintendant, his own prime minister and generalissimo. We see him fired with an infatiable thirst of glory, searching for it where it is fold at the dearest price; making fatigue and danger his dearest delights; forming incessantly that just, that speedy harmony of reflexion and action which military expeditions require; and with all these advantages turning the sury of his arms against commonwealths, exhausted by long wars, torn by intestine divisions, fold by their own citizens, served by a body of mercenary, or undisciplined troops; obstinately deaf to good advice, and seemingly determined on their ruin.

He united in himself two qualities which are commonly found incompatible, viz. a steadiness and calmness of soul that enabled him to weigh all things, in order to take advantage of every juncture, and to seise the savourable moment without being disconcerted by disappointments; this calmness, I say, was united with a restless activity, ardour, and vivacity, which were regardless of the difference of seasons, or the greatest of dangers. No warrior was ever bolder or more intrepid in sight. Demosthenes, who cannot be suspected to have flattered him, gives a glorious testimony of him on this head; for which reason I will cite his own words. (b) I saw him, says this orator, this very Philip, with whom we disputed for sovereignty and empire; I saw him, though covered Vol. V.

⁽b) Demosth. pro Ctes. p. 483.

with wounds, his eye struck out, his collar-bone broke, maimed both in his hands and feet; still resolutely rush into the midst of dangers, and ready to deliver up to fortune, any other part of his body she might desire, provided he might live

honourably and gloriously with the rest of it.

Philip was not only brave himself, but inspired his whole army with the fame valour. Instructed by able masters in the science of war, as the reader has seen, he had brought his troops to the most exact regular discipline; and trained up men capable of feconding him in his great enterprises. He had the art, without lessening his own authority, to familiarife himself with his soldiers; and commanded rather as the father of a family, than as the general of an army, whenever confiftent with discipline: and indeed, from his affability, which merited fo much the greater submission and respect, as he required less, and seemed to dispense with it, his soldiers were always ready to follow him to the greatest dangers, and

paid him the most implicit obedience.

No general ever made a greater use of military stratagems than Philip. The dangers to which he had been exposed in his youth, had taught him the necessity of precautions, and the art of refources. A wife diffidence, which is of fervice, as it shows danger in its true light, made him not fearful and irrefolute, but cautious and prudent. What reason soever he might have to flatter himself with the hope of success, he never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the enemy only in vigilance. Ever just in his projects, and inexhaustible in expedients; his views were unbounded; his genius was wonderful in fixing upon proper junctures for the executing of his defigns; and his dexterity in acting in an imperceptible manner no less admirable. Impenetrable as to his fecrets, even to his best friends, he was capable of attempting or concealing any thing. The reader may have observed, that he strenuously endeavoured to lull the Athenians afleep, by a specious outfide of peace; and to lay filently the foundations

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But these exalted qualities were not without imperfections. Not to mention his excess in eating and carousing, to which he abandoned himself with the utmost intemperance; he also has been reproached with the most diffolute abandoned manners. We may form a judgement of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the company which usually frequented his palace. A fet of profligate debauchees, buffoons, pantomimes, and wretches worse than these, flatterers I mean, whom avarice and ambition draw in crowds round the great and powerful; fuch were the people who had the greatest share in his confidence and bounty. Demosthenes is not the only person who reproaches Philip with these frailties; for this might be suspected in an enemy; but (i) Theopompus, a famous historian, who had writ the history of that prince in fifty-eight books, of which unhappily a few fragments only are extant, gives a still more difadvantageous character of him. "Philip (fays (k) he) " despised modesty and regularity of life. He lavished " his esteem and liberality on men abandoned to debauch " and the last excesses of licentiousness. He was pleased " to fee the companions of his pleasures excel no less " in the abominable arts of injustice and malignity, than " in the science of debauchery. Alas! what species " of infamy, what fort of crimes did they not com-" mit, &c.?"

But a circumstance, in my opinion, which reslects the greatest dishonour on Philip, is that very one for which he is chiefly esteemed by many persons; I mean his politics. He is considered as a prince of the greatest abilities in this art that ever lived: and, indeed, the reader may have observed, by the history of his actions, that in the very beginning of his reign, he had laid down a plan, from which he never deviated, and this was to raise himself to the sovereignty of Greece. When scarce

⁽i) Diod. Sicul. 1. 16. p. 408. (k) Theopom. apud Athen. 1. 6. p. 206.

seated on his throne, and surrounded on every side with powerful enemies, what probability was there that he could form, at least that he could execute, such a project as this? However, he did not once lose fight of it. Wars, battles, treaties of peace, alliances, confederacies; in thort, all things terminated there. He was very lavish of his gold and filver, merely to engage creatures in his fervice. He carried on a private intelligence with all the cities of Greece; and by the affiftance of pensioners, on whom he had fettled very large stipends, he was informed very exactly of all the resolutions taken in them, and generally gave them the turn in his own favour. By this means he deceived the prudence, eluded the efforts, and lulled afleep the vigilance of states, who till then had been looked upon as the most active, the wifest and most penetrating of all Greece. In treading in these steps for twenty years together, we fee him proceeding with great order, and advancing regularly towards the mark on which his eye was fixed; but always by windings and fubterraneous palfages, the outlets of which only discover the design.

(1) Polyænus shews us evidently the methods whereby he subjected Thessaly, which was of great advantage to the compleating of his other designs. " He did not (says " he) carry on an open war against the Thessalians; but " took advantage of the discord that divided the cities and " the whole country into different factions. He fuccour-" ed those who sued for his assistance; and whenever he had conquered, he did not entirely ruin the vanquithed, " he did not difarm them, nor raze their walls; on the " contrary, he protected the weakest, and endeavoured to " weaken and subject the strongest; in a word, he rather fomented than appealed their divisions, having in every • place orators in his pay, those artificers of discord, those " firebrands of commonwealths. And it was by thele " ftratagems, not by his arms, that Philip subdued " Theflaly."

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(m) All this is a master-piece, a miracle in point of politics. But what engines does this art play, what methods does it employ to compass its designs? Deceit, craft, fraud, falshood, perfidy and perjury. Are these the weapons of virtue? We see in this prince a boundless ambition, conducted by an artful, infinuating, fubtle genius; but we don't find him possessed of the qualities which form the truly great man. Philip had neither faith nor honour; every thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his power, was in his fense just and lawful. He gave his word with a firm resolution to break it; and made promifes which he would have been very forry to keep. He thought himself skilful in proportion as he was perhelious, and made his glory confilt in deceiving all with whom he treated. (n) He did not blush to fay, That children were amused with play-things, and men with oaths.

How fhameful was it for a prince to be distinguished by being more artful, a greater dissembler, more profound in malice, and more a knave than any other person of his age, and to leave fo infamous an idea of himfelt to all posterity! What idea should we form to ourselves in the commerce of the world, who should value himself for tricking others, and rank infincerity and fraud among the virtues? Such a character in private life is detelted as the bane and ruin of society. How then can it become an object of effeem and admiration in princes and minifters of state, persons who are bound by stronger ties than the rest of men (because of the eminence of their stations, and the importance of the employments they fill) to revere fincerity, justice, and above all, the fanctity of treaties and oaths; to bind which they invoke the name and majesty of a God, the inexorable avenger of perfidy and impiety? A bare promife among private perions ought to be facred and inviolable, if they have the least lense of honour; but how much more ought it to be so among princes? "We are bound (fays a celebrated

⁽m) Demosth. Olynth. 2. p. 22.

⁽n) Ælian. l. 7. c. 12.

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writer*) to speak truth to our neighbour; for the use and application of speech implies a tacit promise of truth; speech having been given to us for no other purpose. It is not a compact between one private man with another; it is a common compact of mankind in general, and a kind of right of nations, or rather a law of nature. Now whoever tells an untruth, violates this law and common compact." How greatly is the enormity of violating the fanctity of an oath increased, when we call upon the name of God to witness it, as is the custom always in treaties? (a) Were sincerity and truth banished from every other part of the earth, said John I. king of France, upon his being solicited to violate a treaty, they ought to be found in the hearts and in the mouths of kings.

The circumstance which prompts politicians to act in this manner, is, their being persuaded that it is the only means to make a negociation succeed. But though this were the case, yet can it ever be lawful to purchase such success at the expence of probity, honour, and religion? (p) If your father-in-law (Ferdinand the catholic) said Lewis XII. to Philip archduke of Austria, has acted persidiously I am determined not to imitate him; and I am much more pleased in having lost a kingdom (Naples) which I am able to recover, than I should have been had I lost

my honour, which can never be recovered.

But those politicians who have neither honour nor religion, deceive themselves, even in this very particular. I shall not have recourse to the Christian world for princes and ministers, whose notions of policy were very different from these. To go no farther than our Greek history, how many great men have we seen perfectly successful in the administration of publick affairs, in treaties of peace and war; in a word, in the most important negotiations, without once making use of artifice and deceit? An Aristides, a Cimon, a Phocion, and so many more; some of whom were so very scrupulous in matters relating to truth,

⁽o) Mezeral. (p) Ibid.

^{*} M. Nicole on the epift. of the 19th Sunday after Whitfuntide.

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truth, as to believe they were not allowed to tell a falfe-hood, even laughing and in sport. Cyrus the most famous conqueror of the east, thought nothing was more unworthy of a prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, than lying and deceit. It therefore ought to be looked upon as a truth, that no success, how thining soever, can, or ought to cover the shame and ignominy which arise from breach of faith and perjury.

END OF VOL. V.

